A Reply to the Anſwer Doctor *Welwood* has made to King *James*'s Declaration, which Declaration was dated at St. *Germaines*, *April* 17th. *S. N.* 1693. and Publiſhed alſo in the *Paris* Gazett, *June* 20th. 1693.

Ætas parentum pejor avis, tulit Nos nequiores. Horat.

People endure Oppreſſion with more Patience from an Uſurper, *then one aſcending through a long Succeſſion, as eſteeming it* more Natural, *and no leſs then they look'd for, or* (*acknowledging to have* deſerved *it for not ſeeing* when *they were well.* *Osborne*'s Advice to his Son: Second Part.

The PREFACE.

I am ſo far from triumphing over our Misfortunes, that I call God to witneſs, *England* can receive none that do not ſenſibly wound me; but the Wiſe Man in the Scripture adviſing us, To conſider in the day of Adverſity, I think it not unſeaſonable at this time to recollect the preſent State of our Affairs, and under a few ſhort Heads expoſe the Calamitous Condition of our Country to the view and the conſideration of all diſintereſted and honeſt People. Some of thoſe things I ſhall offer here, have been already mentioned in Print, and others in private Converſation, amongſt ſuch whoſe Judgments tho' in ſome particulars differed from mine, yet who I have the Charity to believe are guided by Principles of Integrity, and in the purſuit of the ends they drive at prefer the publick Good before any private Advantage of their own. But tho I have ſometimes diſcourſed to the ſame purpoſe with men in Place and Power, and ſuch too as have the reputation of good ſence, yet what I have delivered with all the Sincerity man is capable of, has generally met with the Fortune incident to ſuch ſtrange Doctrines as won't make the Pot boyl, and I have been diſmiſſed

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as Sermons are; more for decency than application. I have therefore reſtrained my ſelf hitherto from publiſhing my thoughts ſo freely, unwilling to oppoſe the rapid Tydes of Paſſion and Intereſt, which for theſe laſt five Years have born down all before them, and overflowing the defences of Law and Reaſon, have brought a deluge of Miſeries upon this diſtracted Nation. But now that the Fulneſs of time is at hand, and our Ruin almoſt quite accompliſh't, I think I am obliged to contain my ſelf no longer within Table talk, but to do my Country all the Service I am capable of from the Shade I live in, by endeavouring to diſpel thoſe Miſts of Prejudice from before their Eyes, and demonſtrating that a *Dutch* Government that never was founded in any Religion, has been much more deſtructive to us, then a Popiſh one could have been, tho' ſeaſoned with too much ch. For I don't in the leaſt doubt but that moſt of thoſe who were the chief Incendiaries in the Late Revolution, and who ſcattered the Fears and Jealouſies of Popery moſt, would now acknowledge, if they durſt ſpeak out, that all the Provocations of the laſt Reign were in themſelves as Impotent, as Unjuſt, and that it was impoſſible for ſo inconſiderable a Party to contrive any Miſchiefs that required ſuch violent Remedies as were preſcribed. For whoever heard that a Country govern'd by Laws was enſlaved by a Prince, whom his Subjects had entertained inveterate apprehenſions of, even before his acceſſion to the Crown, or would not laugh at the pretence of five or ſix thouſand *Papiſts* endangering our Religion and Property, when there was a Million of *Proteſtants*, keepers of the Liberties of *England*. It was therefore a vain Phantome to imagine that a King whoſe Subjects were ſuſpitious and watchful over, could ſurpriſe us with any material Innovations in Religion, or undermine the Fundamentals of our Government; for as no man can be dangerouſly betrayed but by a Friend, ſo no Government can be ſubverted but by a Magiſtrate in whom a Truſt and Confidence is repoſed; agreeable to which is a Maxim of our modern Polititians, That the Engliſh Liberties were never ſo much endangered as under vertuous Princes, the meaning of which is that our People charmed with an Opinion of their Juſtice, have been too unwarily apt to ſubmit to ſuch extenſions of the Prerogative, that by the abuſe of evil Succeſſors have become Preſidents for a too exorbitant exerciſe of their Power. This conſequence is much worſe becauſe nearer at hand, if the Prince be vertuous only in the giddy conceit of the Populace, deluded by the fallacies of artificial men, for ſuch an one carries the ſecret Venom about him, and is impatient of opportunities to profit himſelf upon the dupes of his own Reign. And this is juſt our caſe; for by ſtarting at a Shadow, we have embraced the very Subſtance that we feared, in depoſing a Lawful home-born Monarch, who could not, nor had a thought to hurt us, and exalting with a popular, but blind Zeal a little Forreign Prince, who has imbibed by his Education a diſlike

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for English men, and has ſo modell'd his Affairs, as if the King truckled to the Statholder, and intended theſe three Kingdoms ſhould be Provinces ſubſervient to the Seven from whence he comes.

This may be deduced from every Act ſince the firſt Scene of this ſo fatal and expenſive Reign; but it not being the ſubject of this place to launch into a thorow Comentary, I will only hint at what is freſheſt in our Memories, and put you in mind of the late admirable Caution in the Conduct of our Fleets and Army. Was it from his Love to *England* that he broke his Promiſe to the King of *Spain* to ſend a Squadron of men of War into the Mediteranean, which was to be there before the beginning of laſt Spring, to act in Conjunction with the *Spaniſh* Admiral, in caſe the *French* attempted any thing in *Naples*, or in *Catalonia*? Was it from his love to our Merchants, that he detained our Ships that had been a Year loaden at *Spithead*, and might ſafely have ventured laſt *November* out without a Convoy? But were kept in under an Embargo, becauſe the *Dutch* were not ready, and and neither Sir *G. Rook* nor they permitted to ſail until our *Holland* Friends were pleaſed to joyn them, at ſuch a time that it was true a Convoy became neceſſary, but ſuch a Convoy as ought not to have been leſs than the whole Naval ſtrength of *England*? By this breach of Word with an Ally, his Catholick Majeſty owed the ſafety of his whole Fleet at *Naples* only to the Storm that diſſipated Mr. *d' Eſtrees* Squadron, but by it has ſince actually loſt *Roze*; and by his tender care of our *Smirna* Fleet in keeping them ſafe ſo long in Harbour and hugging them as Monkeys do their young ones to death, our *Turkey* Trade, nay and the whole Exchange of *London*, were all at once upon the utmoſt precipice and brink of ruin.

I cannot but admire the Courage of our Sanguine Citizens, that ſtill bears up againſt ſo many repeated Loſſes, for tho' the richeſt of their *Turky* Ships were ſunk at *Gibraltar* and *Malaga*, and thoſe that eſcaped have loſt a whole years Trade and Markets, yet ſome of them have been prevailed upon to bring their Offerings to the Exchequer, content to hazard the Pyracies of the Court for ſeven *per cent*, and to relieve the Seamens Wifes from Hunger, Mutiny, or ſudden Death. I will not go about to compute the irreparable Loſs we have ſuffered by this unheard of Conduct; how much our Staple Manufactures are endamaged, how many Merchants, Inſurers, Packers, Dyers, Clothiers, Silkmen, and Weavers muſt ſtarve or ſteal for want of buſineſs, and the diſappointment of thoſe Goods the return of this Fleet would have imported. A little time will demonſtrate theſe effects without a Calculation; but I cannot paſs over the induſtrious Sollicitations for Money, and the engaging arts the Court made uſe of to [illegible] the City, and ſecure them of amendments for the time to come, which indeed amounts to an aſſurance, that my Lord *Falkland* ſhall prove an expert Admiral for the future, and that Sir *H. Goodrick* ſhall plant a Battery at the

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hands end, which will reach to *Breſt*, and ſink the Ships within that Harbour. Miſſionaries were daily employed to ſoften and reſtore their aking hearts, and Letters from the Prince of *Condy*, and others were forged, and pretended to be intercepted in *Flanders*, which diminiſhed the late Victory, and augmented the Loſſes on the *French* ſide: But when ſeveral of the Merchants had been invited to drown their Sorrows in the Cellars at *Kenſington*, the Queen thought it a proper Seaſon to ſend a ſelect Committee of the Council Board to *Guildhall*, to whoſe auguſt appearance the Aldermen paid Reverence and ſubmitted.

Theſe were ſome of the Deluſions practiſed to lull poor men into a farther Confidence; to palliate our loſſes at Sea, and to diſguiſe our diſgrace at Land: But there is another Cheat that is ſtill more offenſive, becauſe it is more familiar, and more vexatious then all the bare-faced Injuries of our Enemies abroad, becauſe it is a Couzenage diffuſed all over *England* by Authority, I mean the Falſhoods that are twice a Week impoſed upon us by that Domeſtick Animal the Gazetier. This worthy Author out-pitches the Fables of *Tom Coriat*, and all the Legends of the Saints, and Mr. *Yard*'s almighty Pen has aſſumed the power of raiſing many hundreds that are dead to life, and has killed many thouſands who will ſurvive himſelf. I will not ſtay to rake that Kennel, and to inſiſt upon the particular Lyes which every *Gazette* ſtuffed with, and am ſorry that well-meaning people in the Country ſuck in ſo much Poyſon with the divertiſement of a News-Book, and have ſuch an alacrity in believing what ever is by Licence printed. But if any man with a little underſtanding, and as much leiſure, will look over his accounts of *Martinego*, of the *Streights* Fleet, and his Hiſtory of the Late Battel, and take the pains to mark his Contradictions, he muſt needs own, that if Sincerity and Truth have any pretence to the management of our Affairs, no Government ever had ſuch a Libeller as Mr. *Yard*. For my own part, I take no pleaſure in uncovering the nakedneſs of *England*, or proclaiming our Misfortunes; but ſince our Diſtempers are ſo induſtriouſly diſſembled and concealed, I think every man who has no ſhare going in the Impoſture, obliged to explain our weakneſs, and lay open the State of our Condition, in hopes the Nation will unite to apply ſome Remedies to the Diſeaſe; for what honeſt man can bear with the deceit of ſuch unfaithful Relations as go ſtampt out of a Secretaries Office, and paſſing upon the ignorant, confirm and fool them into a perſeverence; of which tho' they who live in *London* may be diſabuſed by forreign Prints and Letters from ſome Gentlemen in our own Army who ſcorn to lye; yet by thoſe artifices Truth is perhaps for ever ſhut [illegible] remoter Countries. Thus they ply us with Contradictions, and at the ſame time that they confeſs the Victory was entire, they diſable the Conquerours with killing two to one, forgetting the diſhonour that attends our own Army, which they ſay was routed by ſo ſmall a ſlaughter.

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But the greateſt Charms they think to captivate us with, are the ſwelling Elogies of Brocades and Renown in War, with which they adorn their King, particularly his wond'rous Conduct and intrepid Valour in this Battle. I am loath to deny him ſo mean a quality and a drug ſo common as Courage is, which our late blind Cobler Colonel *Huſon*, and Millions of private Sentinals have had as great a portion of as any Flatterer can aſcribe to him. But ſince we are ſtunn'd ſo much with this report, and that we know it is chiefly tranſmitted to us, accompanied with the ill favoured ſorceries of Mr. *Ward*, it has given inquiſitive men the curioſity to inform themſelves of naked Truth, eſpecially ſince the Prince of *Orange* has ſo often valued himſelf in his Speeches upon having ventured his Life for us; for which the World as often ſaw there was no ground, and men of common ſence are generally of opinion, that Boaſting proceeds from Impotence and Affectation from defect. I will not look back ſo far as to the *Boyn*, nor to the Cauſe of the old Marſhall's deſperate and ſullen Death, nor inſiſt upon the pleaſant proſpect which his Highneſs had of the Siege of *Mons*, of *Namur*, and of *Huy*; but I'le confine my ſelf to *London*, where it is notoriouſly known, what early care he took to preſerve to us the Bleſſings of his Reign, and made a ſafe but ſwift Retreat to a poor Curate's Houſe, where on a Wiſp of Straw this mighty Monarch hid himſelf that Night with a magnific Train of four Attendants. If any man will anſwer that he foreſaw the Event betimes, and tha it was not fit he ſhould be ſo Prodigal of his Life as to ſtake it when the Game was looſing, I will not conteſt it with him, but make bold to add, that if he had vallued his own as little there, as he did the Lives of thoſe brave men he ſacrificed laſt Year at *Stinkirk*, his Courage now had made [illegible] for his Conduct then.

But I have been too long detained by the Army and the *Turky* Fleet, and it is now time to look towards the Civil Adminiſtration of this Reign, which indeed is a conſideration that ought to have had Priority in this Paper as it has in time, the motions of the Camp depending uſually upon the Council of the Cabinet. But here we find nothing but prodigious Sums of Money given, and exceſſive Debts contracted; the Treaſury like a great Glutton devouring vaſtly and digeſting all as faſt: All their Conſultations tend to nothing but to War, and to the compaſſing the Sinews of it, and we are told this War is made in order to a Peace, as if a Feaver were a Receipt for Health, and the Plague a Medicine for long Life. Had we not Peace before? And did we not enjoy all the eaſe and plenty reaſonable men could wiſh in the tranquility we lived? Were the *French* the Aggreſſors? Or have we entered into War for any other reaſon then to to pleaſe the humour of the Prince of *Orange*, who we have treated like a fondling Boy that cryed for the noiſe of Kettle-Drums and Trumpets, and have preſented him thoſe Toys to play with? Has he made one ſignificant March ſince the beginning

of it? Have we taken e're a Town? (I ſuppoſe they will be aſhamed to anſwer with *Furn* and *Dixmude*) Have we won ever a Battle? Or can we brag of e're a Skirmiſh that was faught on any Ground but in the Cloſet of the Gazetier? How long ſhall we bear with the vain Promiſes of a Deſcent into *France*, which have twice ended in nothing but the empty, tho' expenſive preparations for it, and the ſufferings of the poor Owners, whoſe Tranſport Ships they hired? One would think that there were ſomething more unintelligible in this then in all their other motions; and to ſpend ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand pound in two Summers upon a Dream and a Chimera, has ſomething in it of a different complexion from Folly; nor can one well imagin that any mans underſtanding is ſo vitiated and falſe. This looks rather as if he ſiſhed for all the Expedients that could be invented to beggar *England*, and ſtudied Projects to undo us, and making an Experiment how high he can provoke, and lowly we can ſubmit, he ſhews a kind of Wantonneſs in Offending, and a Luxury in abuſing the Patience of the Nation.

I know the Miniſters, a ſort of People often whipped upon the backs of Princes whom they ſerve, are blamed for this, and that theſe ſhould be more then whipt, they ſhall have my conſent; but ſince the Talents of ſeveral of them are known to all the World, and their Experience in the Government unqueſtionable, I can no more believe them the Adviſers of ſuch bungling meaſures and overſights as are daily made, then I can ſuppoſe a *Dutch*-man ever can wiſh well to *England*, or a reaſonable *Engliſh*-man fall in love with the High and mighty States. I have ſaid before that I did not intend this *Preface* ſhould be Comprehenſive, and ſhonld but hint the preſent Miſchiefs operating; I will therefore only challenge any man to inſtance that Office in the State where the duties of it have been executed with tollerable diligence or diſcretion, and as if the Intereſt of the Kingdom had been half ſo much at their Hearts as the ſpoil and [illegible] of their Employments. Have we ever had any intelligence to direct us ſince the Revolution? Did we ever know when Monſieur *Turville* was to ſail from *Breſt*, and of what number of Ships his Fleet conſiſted? Did our own Fleet ever ſail without ſuch impertinent Orders as could have no effect but to be laught at? And with ſuch Proviſions as did not ſerve a Month, and ſometimes ſuch as poyſoned the poor Seamen? What happened the laſt Year, is not to be imputed to our Conduct, or our Valour, but to ſuch an Errour in the *French* as never was before by them committed, and is never to be hoped again. Whilſt the Nation is reduced to the laſt degree of Poverty, have not Penſions been profuſely ſquandred to ſuch as could pretend to neither Right, nor want, nor merit? When the Souldiers were ſtarving for the want of Pay, and the Exchequer empty, has not Money been taken up at immoderate Intereſt, to pay the Portions of ſome *Dutch* women who have been married here? Have we not ſince the beginning of this happy Revolution, fed the Duke of *Savoy* and

nd the Princes of *Germany* with Engliſh Money, as if the *Indies* were ours, r Sir *Carbery Price*'s Mine had been of Gold? Theſe are but a few blots, for it is endleſs to enumerate the Miſcarriages of theſe laſt five Years. And yet as I ſaid before, I can never think either the Miniſters or inferior Officers capable of all thoſe extravagancies of themſelves. For tho' I can very eaſily ſuppoſe them devoted chiefly to their own preſent Intereſt and advantage, yet there is a remembrance of their native Soyl that would ſometimes check the diſſoluteneſs of theſe managements, and a certain Pride that people take in acting prudently, and not expoſing themſelves to the deriſion of all mankind.

This muſt therefore be what men call an Errour in the firſt Conjunction, the Fountain Head is foul and puddled, and all the little Rivolets and Branches that flow from it are infected: When men dare do nothing but ſtudy the Taſte and Paſſions of their Maſters, they muſt forget their own: No building can advance when either the chief Architect is ignorant, and cannot, or obſtinate and will not inform the under work-men: When forreign Correſpondencies and the Secrets of a Prince are wrapt up in myſtery and clouds, diligence in Miniſters is groping and ſtumbling in the dark. Men in ſuch caſes muſt and will lie ſtill, intent on nothing but their Pleaſures and their Profit. If when he rows to *Whitehall* he has his Sight and Heart fixt towards *Loo*, we know the Obligations we have to him for the honour of his company. But Intereſts I hope cannot mingle ſo, as that *England* ſhould long continue a Factorage for the States of *Holland*, for that ingrateful People, who have been a Goad in *Engliſh* ſides ever ſince we erected them to what they are: It is very well known how in the Year 70. they preſſed his Chriſtian Majeſty to turn his Forces againſt *England*, and offered to ſerve him with all their Ships of Burthen and of War to Tranſport his Army hither. They are generally Enemies to all mankind, and particular to us, and have ever proſpered by the misfortunes of their Neighbours, and by breaking Leagues and Treaties with their Allyes through cowardice and a worſe then punick Faith. We have baffled all their Treacheries until now that we conſpired with them againſt our ſelves: But now the Ax is laid unto the very Root of *England*, and we are dwindling into Ruin at Home by an ambitious and unskilful War, and waſting in the extream parts by expoſing of our naked Colonies, and transfuſing the Trade of *London* into the Veins and Sink of *Amſterdam*.

But yet by an old Maxim, which I am ſure is miſapplyed at preſent, they ſay, *The King can do no wrong*, and therefore the Miniſters are arraign'd, and an induſtrious Party goes about excuſing him by implication, becauſe they load the others with all the miſcarriages which have happened. This has long ſince produced Reports in Town, which are ſpread into the Countries too, that the preſent Miniſters are to be diſmiſt, and other Doctors called

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ed to reſtore the Conſtitution of the Body politick. The late Congreſs at *Aix la Chapelle* has confirmed this noiſe, and moſt conclude the Hands, tho' not the meaſures will be changed; for the Temperament of our complying Patriots has diſcovered it ſelf ſufficiently long ſince; and we know a *Cat out of a hole* is ſo like a *Cat in one*, that they differ in Scituation only, not in Shape. But when I firſt heard the Earl of *Sunderland* was coming, as the phraſe is, into play again; I thought it a merryment and raillery both upon this King and him; for who could think that he who was the Author of all the unanſwerable [redacted] methods of King *James*'s Reign, ſhould be encouraged and employed in this, it being ſuch a piece of Diſcretion as if a Sick man ſhould ſend for the ſame Mountebanck to cure him that had killed his Father but a week before. But this it ſeems is not more ſtrange then true; yet by this we may behold the ſteddineſs of this worthy Monarch of our Iſle to the Principles by which he came, and the Profeſſions he then made, ſince that only man whom he excepted againſt in his Declaration, and who now ſtands excepted from Indemnity by Act of Parliament, who for many years received a conſiderable Penſion from the King of *France*, and who in the ſpace of ſix Months altered his Religion twice; This very man in contempt of common Decency, to ſay no more, is coming in to be the Support and Pillar of our Church and State: What Effects this will have upon the minds of men we muſt expect to ſee, and wait the operations of his Counſells, but in the mean time we heartily congratulate this able Polititian with King *William* for an old Sayings ſake, *That things muſt be worſe before they will grow better.*

I have little more to add but apply my ſelf to the people of *England*, and hope that they will now awake out of the Lethargick Fit in which they have lain ſo long; that they will make uſe of the few moments that are given them to manage their laſt Stake, and that they will think it high time to grow weary of the Scandalous and deſtructive War, and labouring in vain to fill a Sieve. When we conſider the vaſt Treaſure that has been given and miſpent, and that all the Returns we have are Beggary and diſgrace; we ought to be aſhamed that we have deviated ſo long from the known Maxims of our Government, which conſiſts in Trade, and keeping as even as the times will bear the Ballance of our Neighbouring States, and not in ruining blindly into a fooliſh and unprovoked War upon the Continent, to pleaſe the humour of one man, and to preſerve a Barriar for the *Dutch*. I am amazed to hear men talk of the approaching Seſſions of Parliament, as if the War were now but juſt begun, or that a Tax had not (as in King *James*'s days) been Levied in all this Reign. It is pitty our Anceſtors had not provided effectually againſt corruption in our Parliaments, which would have rendred them what they were deſigned, the beſt form of Government in the world; for we never had ſo much cauſe as now to lament the

the miſcarriage of Sir *William Coventry*'s, and the late Self-denying Bill. Without reflecting with any Conſcience upon the monſtrous Sums which have impoveriſht us already; they threaten us with a General Exciſe, and another Tax which muſt compleat a modeſt reckoning of ſix Millions for the next Campagn. How can Country Gentlemen, or any who depend not on the Court, ſubſiſt? Tenants muſt throw up their Leaſes, and Landlords quit their Houſes, and all the ready Caſh our numerous Allies have left us, muſt be engroſs't at laſt by thoſe whoſe Stomachs never riſe againſt a Cloaking that Liſts them in the Pay of ſecret Service. There is no man has a greater honour for Parliaments than I, but they muſt excuſe me from thinking any thing ſo very Sacred that I ſee ſo liable to be debaucht, beſides we know by our Hiſtories and Records, that ſeveral of them have been wholly repealed, and many moſt irreverently nicknamed. That Parliament that will give away all we have, is as much a Tyrant as a King that will force it, and therefore it not being imaginable that the Electors, who are their Principals, have delegated a power to them for their own undoing, ſince they grow ſo extravagant, I hope the collected Body of the Nation will vindicate it ſelf, and by an univerſal Remonſtrance reſcind their Acts, or diſobey them. It was extreamly well anſwered by a moſt ingenious and learned Writer of our own, to thoſe who ſaid that Councils could not err, tho' private Perſons may; *That at firſt ſight it is a merry Speech, as if a man ſhould ſay that every ſingle Souldier indeed may run away, but a whole Army cannot, eſpecially having* Hannibal *for their Captain*: I muſt beg leave to think at leaſt as ill of this our Civil Council as he did of an Eccleſiaſtical one, for I ſuppoſe that no man will deny to me but that *Sir Robert Howard* and many more are capable not only of erring, but of Acting ſomething with a Courſer name, either in the *Pallace-Yard*, or in the *Strand*, and therefore ſince I am ſure the Walls of *St. Stephen*'s *Chappel* have not the vertue of inſpiring any more Probity then Infallibility into the minds of thoſe who are equally prepoſſeſt againſt them both, I will be ſo bold as to pronounce there never was a more Erring Council then our own at preſent, which to carry the alluſion a little farther, has neither *Hannibal* nor *Pope* at the Head on't, but a falſe *Anti-King* himſelf choſen, as they are called, in direct oppoſition to the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom. From what has been ſaid I conceive that all intelligent and unbyaſſed People muſt conclude, that our Safety and our Reſtoration to Peace, to Trade and Plenty, lies in our Return to our Duty and Allegiance to our Lawful King, who has in his Declaration offered us thoſe very Terms which we demand, and think Eſſential to our Government. They who promote a diffidence and diſtruſt of his performance, do but perſue the Impoſture they ſet out with to this Revolution, and continue thoſe Arts by which they have enriched themſelves with the Ruins of the Innocent and laborious Farmers of the Country. But I

will profecute this no farther here, and hope all honeſt men will approve of theſe ſhort Animadverſions which I have laid down, at leaſt that they won't be ill received by ſuch, from one who neither has, nor ever will have, any thing elſe to do with ſo depraved a Generation as now governs.

The REPLY.

THe new *Secretary* having always had the reputation of good Sence, and a very ſmart Elocution, his Licencing *Doctor Welwood*'s Anſwer to the Declaration of King *James*, made every body read it, as ſoon as it appeared, but all that know the *Secretary*, conclude he never took the pains to read it himſelf, or he would ſo far have conſulted his own credit, as to have denyed his Paſport to ſo frivolous, and ſo *Scurrilous* a Pamphlet. It is ſo remarkably both, that it would be ſtill as much neglected by me, as it has been deſpiſed by others, had I not at preſent more then ordinary leiſure; for it is ſtuff'd with ſuch ignorant Aſſertions, ſuch weak and quibling Sophiſtry, it ſo plainly prevaricates from the Genuine and clear Sence of the King's Words, and it rails ſo very courſly, that it can ſcarce impoſe upon the moſt unlettered men; and tho' I have reſolved to give it a Reply, ſince it would be a tedious drudgery to follow the *Author* from page to page, I ſhall chuſe to reduce under Heads what is moſt material in that *authorized* Libel, and after I have handled them at large, I will more briefly take notice of what they don't compriſe that deſerves any Anſwer.

Firſt, The Doctor makes much uſe of the *Declaration* that was laſt Year publiſhed in King *James*'s Name.

Secondly, He flouriſhes with the *male-adminiſtrations*, during his Majeſties abode amongſt us.

Thirdly, He tells us no King is to be truſted who has *once* broke his Word.

And *Laſtly*, He acquaints us after all the pains he has taken to Anſwer it, that *he knows* not whether it is King *James*'s Declaration or no.

As for the Declaration, that was printed laſt year, beſides that I can aſſure you, *Doctor*, I never yet ſaw it Signed with the King's own Hand; I can alſo aſſure you that it was as much miſliked by many, almoſt all, of the King's Friends, as it can be expoſed by his Enemies. If you won't take my Word for this, be pleaſed to peruſe the Letters Mr. Secretary *Johnſon* ordered to be printed in *Scotland*, and in one of thoſe charged upon *Nevill Payne*, you will find I am in the right. If I would take the Liberty you make uſe of, I might falſify, and utterly deny, that ever King *James* ſo much as ſa-

ſaw it, but I think my ſelf obliged in Honour and Conſcience to deal ingeniouſly in every thing I publiſh to the World, and with all, *Doctor*, I think the faithful relation of matter of fact, which I ſhall now make, will vindicate both the King, and the ſober part of thoſe in his Intereſt from thoſe dreadful Imputations, wherewith, upon the account of that *Declaration*, you are pleaſed to charge them.

The matter of Fact then is thus. King *James* deſigning laſt Year to come over, ſent to ſeveral of his Friends to give him an account of what they thought proper for him to do, and how he ought to expreſs his Intentions in a *Declaration*, that he might thereby make his reacceſſion more eaſie; but thinking it proper to keep his coming over as much, and as long a ſecret as he could, he ſo very darkly intimated for what Reaſons he deſired his Friends to conſider of ſuch a draught that the moſt ſolid and conſiderate of them did not believe there was any neceſſity to haſten over their Notions; but ſome who are not ſo well able to give materials for things of that nature, & yet were very glad the King had been pleaſed to ask their Opinions, were more forward, ſo that the King not having heard from others, upon whoſe Judgments he could have depended, was forced to order a *Declaration* to be drawn up according to the accounts that theſe men had ſent; but tho' he had been ſo long from *England* (which might excuſe his miſtakes) he was himſelf ſo little ſatisfied with that *Declaration*, that he ordered him who had the cuſtody of all the Printed Copies, that were at *La Hogue*, not to give out one *there*, and he ſent expreſs Commands with the draught that he ſent over to be printed *here*, that not one of them ſhould be diſperſed amongſt us, till he was actually Landed, and had adviſed with his Friends upon the place, what was fit for him to reſolve, and particularly whether that *Declaration* was agreeable to the ſence of theſe Kingdoms, and he had deſigned to have brought with him a Preſs and Printers, that if his Friends diſapproved of that Declaration, he might put forth another, and wholly ſuppreſs that. Had he come over, he would have been before his Landing convinced, that it was not agreeable; for juſt about that time the *French Fleet* was beaten (and which was before the King could have come hither) there arrived at *La Hogue* *Declarations* drawn in Form with univerſal Mercy, and ſuch as did engage the King to give us full Securities both for our Religion, and for our Liberties; and there were ſent likewiſe by the Penners of thoſe *Declarations* more ſevere Animadverſions upon that *Declaration* (which was indeed printed by, but publiſhed, both on this and the other ſide, contrary to the King's expreſs Order) then any that were here authorized by my Lord *Nottingham*'s *Imprimatur*. The King indeed ordered that *Declaration* to be drawn, but neither was the King, nor the Penner of it to blame that they were not furniſhed with more ſuitable notions, ſince they ſent for Inſtructions: Nor

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can I so much blame those Persons, that sent those materials; because that, altho' their thoughts had not been conversant with things of that sort, yet men must have vast degrees of Modesty in their own tempers who would not be tempted to wade out of their depth by such a Complement as the King justly enough thought was then even necessary for his Affairs to make them: Nor were those others who upon Captain *Stow*'s Landing immediately sate themselves to collect the sence of the Nation unpardonably to blame, that they did not upon first notice transmit their Schemes; for the more solid men are, the more diffident they will be of themselves, especially where the Advice is to be proportioned to such a variety of Sects and Interests, as are upon this Island. Since the extream goodness of the King has pardoned their having been too dilatory (which they must and do acknowledge as a fault) it is hoped, their fellow Subjects will not too severely censure such who would hazard their Lives and Fortunes for the good of *England*. That they would risk even the good opinion of the King, I think very may be made evident by an account of some that were sent from hence. They not only wrote very frankly against that *Declaration*, but upon their seeing it, they also *probed* the inclinations of the King, and his then sole Secretary there, the *Earl of Melfort*, and that by exacting their sence of many particulars which are not proper to be mentioned in this Paper, but fitter to be referr'd to the debates of a *Parliament*; and the Answers they had were so satisfactory, that they were thereby encouraged to pursue their duty with all imaginable and renewed diligence. Some of those things insisted upon by them have been published in former Pamphlets by the advice of the King's friends here, and since that you have had some of them published in the King's own *Declaration*. When these Pamphlets came out, you thought the good things they mentioned were but the Wishes of the Writers, and not the Inclinations, either of the King, or his Party; but now you see by his own *Declaration*, that they were agreeable to the King's own Sentiments, and the advice of his Friends. Those things were not then said without Book. When the first *Declaration* first came out, and before there were returns to those Letters which were sent against it, there was written by one in the King's Interest, a Paper called *Honesty is the best Policy*, wherein the Author avers, and that upon his own knowledge, that, that *Declaration* was contrary to the King's own sence of things, as he inferred from discourses, that he had the honour to have personally had with the King at *St. Germaines*. I believe was the Author known, no body could justly accuse him, for want either of Probity, or Love to *England*. After the Answers of these Letters came over, the *Jacobite Principles* was written, which contained notions which are plainly hinted at in this last *Declaration*, and before the Publication of this last *Declaration*, came forth the *French Conquest neither desireable nor Practicable*; and now it is evident by this *Declaration* that

the good things aſſerted in thoſe Pamplets in behalf of the King, were not the private Surmiſes of the Author, but founded upon good authorities from *St. Germaines*, and ſince this Government has printed in *Scotland* ſome Letters that they have either intercepted or made, I will venture ſo far to betray the Secrets of his Majeſty, as to tranſcribe ſome paſſages out of Letters that have been ſent me from the Earl of *Melfort*; and many others have had Letters of the ſame purport. I have mine by me, and if the *Parliament* will obtain a ſafe conduct for us, I will produce them, and I don't queſtion but many others of his Majeſties Friends will produce ſuch other Letters, either written by the King, or his command, as would abundantly ſatisfie the Nation, that the King is ready to do all things neceſſary to ſecure them from all thoſe diſmal Hobgoblins, which ſome, through Malice, and others through Folly, have bug-beared us withal. The paſſages I ſhall tranſcribe out of my Letters are as follow.

3d. July, 1692.

I had Yours of the laſt Month, and the only one I have had this conſiderable time. In it I find your *objections* to the *Declaration*, and find that *moſt* of them are Juſt, and what ſhall be help'd in the next; There was not one Topick *ſent* but was made uſe of, and if we have failed, it has been the fault of thoſe that have not informed *aright* what would pleaſe, and not ours, and as for that draught you ſent me, I had it at the Sea-ſide, when we were paſt thinking of *Declarations*. As to our *Intentions*, the King was reſolved to Govern by the *known Laws of the Kingdom*, to conſult with his *Parliament* in *all* things relating to the eſtabliſhment of Peace and quiet in his Kingdoms, to maintain the *Liberties* and *Properties* of all his Subjects, to *protect* the *Proteſtant* Religion, and to obtain *Liberty of Conſcience for all Diſſenters*. He deſigned to except *none* from his mercy, excepting thoſe who *oppoſed* his Reſtoration, and to Govern ſo, as that he might gain him the *Love* of his People, and make them as fond of him as they had been violent againſt him; and tho' he could not *at this diſtance* tell how this was to be attained to, yet he was reſolved if once upon the place, to have perſued the *true* methods of doing it. *Withal I muſt tell you, that no Declaration was ever publiſhed by the King's authority; for tho' it was printed, it was not to have been diſperſed till the King's Landing, and having met with ſome of his Friends, and if they had diſliked it, even then it had not been Publiſhed.*

11th. July, 1692.

No man in the world wiſhes more heartily then my ſelf to ſee Bounds and Limits fairly cleared betwixt the People and *Monarchy of England*, that ſo we may not oppoſe the Prerogative ignorantly, nor unknowingly run into Arbitrary Notions againſt the Liberty of the Subjects; if theſe Limits

were once fixt, one who meant well might tread ſecure, which is now impoſſible; for both Parties pretending to have right, and *it may be* in ſome things without reaſon, one may deſign well, and yet diſpleaſe both, which could never occur if *Prerogative and Property* were once *clearly defined and ſtated*. What all this may end in is hard to foretell, and whether ever we ſhall be ſo happy to ſee things cleared on juſt and equal terms; *but of this I can aſſure you it is the King's deſire that it ſhould be ſo.*

Aug. 29*th.* 1692.

I am for large meaſures, and having the Crown eſtabliſhed upon the Love and Affections of the Subjects, and that in our days we may ſee the King and People in mutual confidence of one another, and all Jealouſies and Fears, and the *grounds* of them rooted out, that the deſign of the Court may be the Happineſs and Proſperity of the People, and the deſign of the People to encreaſe the Glory of the Crown, and the legal rightful Succeſſion thereof, that Liberty and Property might be ſecured, and that Prerogative which juſtly belongs to the Crown Eſtabliſhed for their protection. *All this might be now, were* England *ſo happy to lay hold on the Conjuncture.*

22d. Septem. 1692.

The French *King did not ſo much as pretend the Forces he ſent ſhould have Engliſh Pay, but his own, which looks far from demanding great Sums of the Nation, and I can aſſure you he was as frank as any Engliſh man whatever for ſecuring the people in the poſſeſſion of their Religion, Liberty and Property: Let not* England *ſtand in its own way, and oppoſe its own happineſs, and I'le anſwer* France *ſhall not meddle, nay, if it were to meddle betwixt the King and his People, it would be to gain the People more of their Will, to humour them more, not to complement the Crown,* AND ANY MAN OF GOOD SENCE WILL FIND REASONS OF STATE FOR THEIR SO DOING. In another place of the ſame Letter, he ſays that *The King of France when the King was to come laſt Year to us, ſaid all he had to pretend to, was to wiſh the King happy in the poſſeſſion of his own, and that in ſerving his Friend he had all he aimed at.*

October 6*th.* 1692.

Things ſhall be eſtabliſhed upon the antient *Engliſh* bottom, Religion, Property and Liberty ſhall be as in the freeſt of times, no man ſhall ſuffer for his Opinion in matters of Religion. The King will have a *free Parliament*, with whom he will conſult the ſettling of all theſe upon the moſt laſting Foundations, and differences once cleared, *he will govern according to Law*, he will have *no different Intereſt from that of England*, and will make it his chief Study to gain the *Love* of his People, and to be more Lord of their *Affections* then of their *Perſons*, he will avoid all Jealouſies, and the *occaſion*

of

of them, and will look upon him as the worſt of Traytors, who would adviſe him to do any thing might give his People any *Jealouſie*, or *Fear*. In ſhort, govern ſo as *honeſt Engliſh* men would have him, mind the Intereſt, Trade, and Honour of the Nation, *and that againſt all its Rivals*. This is the Intereſt of the Nation, and will be performed, and being meant in the full extent comprehends *Liberty*, *Property*, and *Religion*—In the ſame Letter 'tis ſaid *Parliaments* ſhall be *free*, ſo *free*, that the Court ſhall not *brigue*, ſo the People may reſt aſſured of *a free Parliament*, and [illegible] inclinations to *compoſe* all Differences, and *heal* all Breaches in *Church* and *State*.

October 24*th*. 1692.

I aſſure you that I fall moſt naturally in with ſuch meaſures, meaſures that if embraced would ſecure the *Church of England* entirely, give reaſonable eaſe to all Diſſenters, ſecure fully Liberty and Property, and make every Engliſh man happy in the free and full poſſeſſion of his Birthright, ſecure *Elections* to *Parliaments* againſt *tricks* and *frauds*, and do all things for the People which they *with Juſtice* can expect.

December 12*th*. 1692.

A Letter of that date ſpeaking of our Houſe of Commons here, ſays, that by reſtoring the King, they might have *Conditions* to ſecure all that ever they were afraid of, they [illegible]ace, be free from Taxes have Trade, and all ſorts of Plenty, and may ſhew themſelves the *true Ballance of Europe*, ſince on that *occaſion* there is no *reaſonable* Peace, the *French* King would not ſubſcribe to.

You ſee I have ſate down ſome paſſages out of the Earl of *Melfort*'s Letters to my ſelf, which I believe give another Idea of the King, than we have been generally poſſeſſed with. There are in the ſame Letters many particulars, in which as I ſaid it would not be decent to anticipate the debates of an *Houſe of Commons*, tho' they are ſuch as infinitly confirm me, that the King was then, and is now ready to make it next to impoſſible, that the boundaries of our Rights ſhould be again broken down. There are *many other Jacobites* that are as *Zealous* as I can be for the *good* of their Country, and who have by them very explanatory Accounts, which may well juſtifie the King's ſaying, That he has been, and ſtill is willing to condeſcend to ſuch things as are moſt likely to give the fulleſt Satisfaction, and cleareſt proſpect of the greateſt Security, to all ranks and degrees of his People; And we may be ſatisfied the King will continue in that temper, ſince every thing has been lately ſo faithfully and impartially laid before him, by an excellent Perſon, who I believe, Dr. you ſuppoſe to be the continuer of this laſt *Declaration*, [illegible] and conſ for whoſe parts you your ſelf ſay you have a juſt eſteem, I mean the *Earl* of

of *MIDDLETON*, who I esteem as much for his parts as *Doctor Welwood* or any body else can, and yet more for his Integrity then for his Parts. I don't at all doubt but that this last *Declaration* was grounded upon the true relation that *that noble Earl* gave of the State and Interests of these Kingdoms, but I am sure he will think it no disreputation to him, no dimunition of his Merit, to say that he found in the King a preparation to close with every thing he laid before him as his own Interest, the Interest of his Royal Issue, and these his afflicted Kingdoms.

Since I have mentioned the *Earl of Middleton*, I think my self obliged in this place to do him a piece of Justice. I had the honour to be with him several times, when that *Declaration*, which is so much exclaimed against first came abroad, and I positively aver, that I know no one man in *England* thought it worse calculated for the Service of his Master, and our Interest then he did, and I perceived him to have those wise, those honest, and honourable resentments upon that, and many other occasions, that I must loose all sence of Virtue and English Liberty, before I cease acknowledging that he is a true *Patriot* as well as a most faithful and able Minister.

I shall neither trouble my self, nor the Reader with remarks upon the foregoing Letters, but leave them to speak for themselves, after I have said, that they were written with that careless freedom of Style which men make use of when they have no manner of design that their Letters should be made publick. This I say to obviate the [illegible] of shallow and superficial Criticks, who always, and in every thing, expect Essays of Rhetorick, which is not the language of business, whilst it passes through private hands, I think I have said enough to the first topick. You may if you please occasionally refer to the Letters themselves, but I will now hasten to consider Male-administrations.

I will not go about to extenuate, much less to justifie any ill thing done in the Reign of *the King*, I was not concerned in any one of those ill things, when he was here, I always called a Spade a Spade. I censured and spoke against those ill things then, and I never excuse them now; and yet if the *Law-Books of England* are to be credited, let our Government be as much an Original Contract as you will, they are not to be charged upon the King, nor is he to be punished for them; and for our future Security, we have the Age of the King, and the Infancy of his Son, besides both which he has been taught in the School of Affliction, never more to be so seduced by his Ministers: that the Nation will not bear such measures; and farther the concessions of this *Declaration* and all the promises of it are not only big with Provisions, but also are a Royal way of owning that he was formerly misled. And what ever were the faults of the last Reign, there are several Reasons for which a man would think that the *authorized* Writers for this Government should not so eternally recite them.

First

First, was not the *Prince of Orange* himself so well informed, that by the *Laws* and Constitution of *England*, *the King of it is unaccountable, can do no Wrong, can be answerable for no Male-administration*, that altho' in his own *Declaration* nothing was left unsaid that Malice could think of and wherein every thing was aggravated with all the Spightful Colours that a fruitful invention and Libellous Pen could give them, yet even in that he levelled no acculation against the King, but against his evil Counsellors?

Again, tho' the reason of that *Maxim* is to preserve the Head of the Government safe, whilst the Peoples safety consists in having Justice and Reparation upon the Ministers, have those Ministers nevertheless been found out? Have any of those who were in your hands been punished? Or have they not rather been employed? It was a sign that *Jefferies* was naturally pusillanimous, that he despaired of remaining *Councellour*, when he saw that *Protestant*, *Merciful* Major General *Kirk*, so well with our *Reformer*. Had he lived till now in despite of *Taunton Dean*, he as well as *Sir John Trevor* had had his Place. I am serious, *Doctor*; and that you may not believe what I say to be chimerical, I will bring you acquainted with some of those men that are now in Play.

Will you give me leave to introduce you to that good old Treasurer the Earl of *D--by*? If you please we will forget his quandum Negotiations with that *Parliament*, which the lewd *Whiggs*, many of whom are your intimate Friends, called *Pentionary*, but I protest I can't help remembring that my Lord *Montague* told odd tales, as if he held some unfit Correspondencies with that *Tyrant of France*. Good God! that a man who stands Impeached by a House of Commons for such transactions with a Crown, with whom we now wage War, should be made the *President* of all our *Councils*! Is it not more wild, and a greater profanation in our Politicks to place an Impeached man at the Head of all our Affairs, than even to make a *Jesuite* a Privy Councellour?

But let the Marquess of *Car--then* make room for the Earl of *Sun--land*. The Preface has given some account of that eminent States-man, but I will tell you, *Doctor*, a Secret, upon condition that you will not tell that you have it from me, the Earl of *Sun--land*, this very Earl of *Sun--land*, tho' he has been out of Office, has not for a great while been out of business. *I am sure for above these two Years he has not been out of it.*

Are you at leisure, worthy *Sir*, to go to the Secretaries Office where Mr. *Br--n* is to be found, who must be a very *adroit* and experienced person, and well worth your acquaintance, for all the World knows he has run through all sorts of business. He was Secretary to that *Offensive* High Commission Court. The four *Popish* Bishops found him very useful. He could instruct *Regulators*, and at Tryals *lend* an Oath. Heavens bless me! No body but *Sun--land* could have recommended such a Tooll to *Fr--rd* who must cer-

tainly think himself overstocked with Reputation (of which deservedly he has a great share) or he could never have ventured so much of it, by putting the Secrets, and business of his Office into such hands. I am really sorry he made such a choice; for there are some men in this Government, whom I would not have disgrace themselves. He is one of those, and I am sure he might have chosen out of his old acquaintance, men that would not have been a reproach to him.

Had Nature pleaded as strongly for his Father, I would have forgiven the *Princes of Orange*, tho' she had overlooked all the *faults* of her Uncle *R—r* and recommended him to the Cabinet.

I believe, you are well known to Sir *R—rt R—h*, and I think I ought not to name him upon the account of *Regulation*, because he out started in the House of Commons all those, that laid it to his charge as a Crime.

I must confess this Government could not have found out a fitter man to be a Secretary of War than handsom formal Mr. *Bl—te*; for his Speech in the House of Commons did to the utmost of his power demonstrate, that a *standing* Army was cheaper then the *Militia*. He talked himself out of Breath, and the whole House out of Patience, upon that subject; and I have been told by those that were by, that if he had any meaning what I have set down, was what he drove at. He is indeed a *profound* man, and therefore our *Senates* was not so much to blame, that they could not understand all he said, but so much is certain, he had a mind to a *standing* Army, and that *propensity* is a good qualification for a Secretary of *War*; and we shall comprehend his Reasons for what he would have maintained, when he thinks fit to publish his Notes.

I believe you will be weary before you have made these Visits, therefore we must let alone the Right Honourable Lord *Conningsby*, Sir *Robert Howard*, Sir *R. Temple*, Sir *J. Werden*, and a multitude of other such excellent Persons (who are very well with the Government) till another opportunity.

Another reason why the *authorised* Writers for this Government should not so eternally insist upon *Male-administrations* of the last, is because we have *so many* Instances of *misgovernment* under our *Reformer*, and I *assure* you, *Doctor*, his Title will totter if he may not discharge himself upon evil Ministers, from which ~~retreat~~ such Writers as you, by the doctrines of your own Pamphlets, shut him out.

In speaking to the *Male-administrations* of this Government, I must make use of a division, that some will think new; for I must speak of *Legislative* Errours, as well as *Executive* Male-administrations. Amongst the first I reckon the suspention of the *Habeas Corpus*, the *gratification* of the Articles of *Limerick*, and the *Enacting* of *Martial* Law, without punishing those that had exercised it before it was enacted, and also the numerous *Pardons* they

have

have beſtowed upon the Miniſters of State, when they had broken thorow the moſt valuable of our Rights, when they had broken in upon the Liberty of our Perſons. Theſe, and many other ſuch exorbitant meaſures which have paſſed both our Houſes, may be reckoned *Legiſlative* Errours.

I don't queſtion but ſome will think it very ſtrange that I Impeach a *Parliament*, but what man that has common ſence, can believe that the Nation ever intruſted a *Houſe of Commons* with a Power to deſtroy them, with a Power to ſurrender up all our Liberties, to enſlave the Nation, to ſell our Rights to a *forreign* (tho' a *Dutch*) *Prince*, to ſink our Ships, or to burn our Cities. They may as well make any of theſe, and Murder it ſelf Legal, as long Impriſonments without aſſigned Crimes. Extravagant Acts of Parliament are no Laws; and if our Senate Houſe is *delirous*, we can be ſuppoſed to render obedience (tho' a Lawful King were at the Head of them) upon no other reaſon, but becauſe we are not in a condition to deny, or diſpute it. OUR ORACLE *COOK* has ſome where in his *Inſtitutes* an expreſſion to this purpoſe, Laws made againſt right Reaſon, and the Law of Nature, are Null in themſelves. Can it be reaſonable that the *Habeas Corpus* ſhould be three times one after another ſuſpended, and that upon no better pretence than a Miniſter's ſhewing ſome Letters that he ſaid came from *Scotland*, and which were ſtuffed with palpable Falſhoods, ſuch as King *James*'s being Landed there with a great Force; and of which Letters we never heard more after the firſt ſuſpention of the *Habeas Corpus*? The Liberty of our Perſons is a Native Right. Our Common Law originally provided for it by Writ, before it was provided for by Statute, and the Act of *Habeas Corpus* was only to make us as ſafe in the *Vacation* as in the Term, and to provide a Puniſhment for the Judges, that denyed to obey that Writ; Thoſe Judges that had before that Penalty was aſcertained denyed to obey the Writ, were puniſhed ſeverely in the Late times (when they went upon Principles of Liberty, tho' they went too far) and the Perſons injured had Reparation made them out of the Eſtates of thoſe Arbitrary Judges. Cauſeleſs Impriſonments was one of the moſt clamarous and beſt warranted Grievances in the days of King *Charles the firſt*, yet the preſent Conſervators of our Liberty, have tranſmitted to after Ages a preſident for *Parliamentarily* taking away that Liberty, whenſoever the caprice of a fearful, or fooliſh Miniſter ſets up pretences of State for doing it. Certainly *Parliaments* begin to forget the deſign of their firſt Inſtitution, begin to forget they were to aſſiſt us againſt Arbitrary Miniſters, to ſecure our Rights, and not to ſacrifice them. I believe had the old Cuſtom of inſtructing them been revived, few Electors would have given a power to their Repreſentatives to Impriſon their peaceable Neighbours, without proof, for nothing. Tho' it can admit of no good excuſe, yet ſomething more like one might have been offered, if that *Act* had been ſuſpended only whilſt they could examine

amine the cause of their pannick fear, but to repeat it, to reiterate such a prostitution of what with all due Reverence to that Assembly be it spoken) they have so little to do withal, unless to secure it by more expres Laws, is of infamous example, and I would almost as soon have been one of the Regicides of *King Charles the first*, as such a murderer, such a stabber of our *Fundamental* Rights. Was any of the men that were by vertue, I mean by the Villany, of that Suspention committed, ever tryed to this day? Nay did the Government ever pretend to try any one man for Crimes committed before, or during that Suspention? The Nation remembers how many the Messengers then locked up, how many were then Imprisoned in Loathsome Goals, how many were sent to the expensive Tower. Was I a Member of that *Parliament*, I would not think a private Repentance would obliterate my Fault; I would print my Recantation of so destructive a Vote. I call it destructive, because it has given an Inlet to Prerogative, that our Forefathers never knew; that no King ever once imagined, that a *Parliament of England* would countenance, tho' it were but for the least point of time.

But let us come to the Articles of *Limerick*, does not *King William* plainly act by that *devouring Monster* (as *Doctor Welwood* calls it) the Dispensing Power? Does he not grant them Indulgence for their Religion, allow them Arms, and a freedom from Oaths, and Security against prosecutions for their Plundering? and does not he do all this by his own single authority, tho' it was contrary to the Laws of the Land, the Rights and Privileges, and the very Safety too of the *Protestant* Subjects of *Ireland*? Did our *Parliament* take any notice of the Illegality of this Act, nay, did they not ratifie it? I suppose the *Parliament of Ireland* was not so cram'd with men in Places, nor had the Members of it been so much softned by Pentions as the Members of our *House of Commons* are; for when an Act for confirming those Articles was proposed to them, they could find that the first Article of that Treaty, if confirmed, would make *an Established Religion*, and the sixth would deprive all *Protestants* of their Actions against the *Papists*, by whom they were plundered, even whilst they lived in Peace with them. This you may find in a little Pamphlet, called an *Account of the Sessions of Parliament in Ireland*, 1692. Which Pamphlet was put forth by some Members of that Parliament, who are very *fond* of this Government, tho' they are willing that the Settlement in *Ireland* may be *Religiously observed*, and that the *Protestant and British Interest there may be secured*, as the *Prince of Orange* worded it and promised in the last paragraph of his own *Declaration*.

Did we pay so many men to make War in *Ireland*, and make at last such Conditions? Could the *Prince of Orange* to Reduce one Town, when he had all the rest of these three Kingdoms assisting him to Reduce it, promise to enervate the Act of Settlement, and yet must *King James*, when he was in the hands of the *Irish*, when very few others of his Subjects appeared for him

him, when the greateſt part of the *Proteſtants in Ireland* were actually in Arms againſt him, or combining with his Enemies, forever ſtand confounded, becauſe he was prevailed upon, contrary to his own Inclinations, and by a ſort of fatal neceſſity, *to Repeal that Act of Settlement*? I believe if the Doctor will read *Great Brittain's Juſt Complaint*, and the Anſwer to *Doctor King's Book*, he will not have Forehead enough to aſſert any more, as he does *page* the 36*th*. that the King was Maſter, and without controul when he paſſed that Act of Repeal, and the King promiſes to conſent to every thing that an *Engliſh Parliament* ſhall think neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh that Act, now he is really and properly Maſter of his own Actions, and tho' the King has good reaſon, and is obliged in honour to recommend to the *Parliament of England* thoſe *Iriſh* that have followed him to the laſt, yet the raſcally *Iriſh* (as this mannerly Pupill of *Titus Oates*, *Doctor Welwood* calls them) do not appear dearer to *King James* then to the *Prince of Orange*; for *King James* will leave the method of recompenſing thoſe that have been Loyal to him, to an *Engliſh Parliament*. But *King William falls out* with the *Parliament of Ireland*, becauſe they are not willing thoſe *Iriſh Papiſts* who *plundered* even while they lived in Peace with them, ſhould go unpuniſhed; which in plain Engliſh ſhews that *King William* to endear himſelf to the *Native Iriſh*, is willing to give an Inſtance that he thinks *Robbery is no Crime*; but perhaps he remembred what the Pyrate ſaid to *Alexander*, & may think that [illegible] *Iriſh Popiſh* Rapparee has no more natural conviction of the hainiouſneſs of ſuch a tranſgreſſion then his *Proteſtant Dutch Highneſs* has ſhewn to his own Actions. I am paſt Wondering at any thing *King William* does, but Poſterity will be aſtoniſhed, that a *Parliament of England* could ratifie ſuch Articles.

To proceed to another Head, it is notoriouſly known that ſeveral men were Executed by Martial Law *before* it was Enacted. When an Army is no *better* paid, then ours has been, either in *England*, *Ireland*, or *Flanders*, to empower a Commander *to Shoot a man to Death*, *becauſe he demands the Money* he has earned for himſelf, and his Family, with his Sweat, and with his Blood, is a Law that requires great ſubtilty and argumentation, to prove it equal or juſt; but to give this power to imperious and cholerick Officers, without examining how many men had been before the ſettling of it, murdered in their rage, and to gratifie their own violence. I ſay to enact this Law without ſuch a retroſpection, and without guarding it againſt a too vigorous execution of it for the future, is what little becomes an *Engliſh Houſe of Commons*, who ought to have a tender regard to the Life of the meaneſt Subject.

Let us come to conſider of the numerous Parliamentary Pardons beſtowed upon Miniſters, who have falen foul upon our Laws; have not the Subjects, even the *Peers* of England been hunted by *Proclamations*, clapt into Priſons for High Treaſon, and *refuſed* the benefit of their *Habeas Corpus*, and this

when there was no Information *upon Oath*, as the Law appoints to juſtifie ſuch a proceedure? And have not the Miniſters had all this pardon'd by a *Parliament*? *Doctor Welwood* does make ſo many Repetitions himſelf, that I hope he will not redicule me if I now and then repeat the ſame thoughts, and ſet down here, that *Parliaments* heretofore thought fit to puniſh, and not to skreen ſuch Arbitrary Miniſters, to make the reparation of the Subject more eaſie, more certain; but now they *take part* with the Miniſters to oppreſs the Subject.

Another Parliamentary Errour under this Government is, that our Legiſlators don't at the beginning of every Seſſions read the *Prince of Orange*'s own *Declaration*; for there are in it ſome things that deſerve their Reflections. Theſe are the Words of one Paragraph.

" *And we for our part will concur in every thing that may procure the Peace and* " *Happineſs of the Nation, which a Free and Lawful Parliament ſhall determine*; " *Since we have nothing before our Eyes in this our undertaking, but the preſer-* " *vation of the Proteſtant Religion, the covering of all men from Perſecution for* " *their Conſciences, and the Securing to the whole Nation the* FREE ENJOY- " MENT *of all their Laws, Rights, and Liberties under a Juſt and Legal* " *Government.*

I don't know, whether the preſent Gentlemen that meet at *Weſtminſter*, take themſelves to be a *free Parliament*, but if they do, here is a very fair Invitation, which is alſo in other places expreſſed by declaring, that the deſign of his coming ſhould be *to reſcue the Engliſh Government from the Violencies and Diſorders which had overturned the whole Conſtitution.* Really if this was true, our Civil Fabrick wants a great deal of Reparation, and if he was in earneſt you are to blame that you don't propoſe ſolid Securities againſt Arbitrary Government, and to prevent *the poſſibility of Slavery for the future*, as the *Declaration* has it in another *place.* But in troth after all, I know not whether the *Prince of Orange* takes the preſent for a *free Parliament*, becauſe that I can name his Highneſs ſome Bills, that they have determined very unanimouſly to be for the happineſs of the Nation, to which nevertheleſs *King William* has not thought fit to give his aſſent, no, he did not think fit to concur, tho' ſome men abſolutely attached to his Intereſt, have honeſtly (according to their Principles) told him that a Prince who comes in for the ſake, and upon the Foot of Reformation, can never ſtand long unleſs he really perform the buſineſs, and deſign of his exaltation. He has been ſo far from concurring, that it has been obſerved that every Seſſion *he has taken all our Money, but followed none of the Advice*, either of a *Parliament*, or of ſuch, whoſe avowed Principles make them capable to go in heartily with his Government; nay he has rejected one *Bill* * that the *whole Houſe of Commons* paſſed *Nemine Contradicente*; Mr. *Finch* excepted; and

* *The Bill to aſcertain the Salaries of the Judges*

nd which was not oppoſed by any body, *but my Lord Nottingham* in the ouſe of Lords. He hath been pleaſed to refuſe ſome ther *Bills* * that were notwithſtanding all the pains e, and my Lord *Portland* took to hinder them, Voted y a great majority of both Houſes. Methinks the pre-nt *Parliament* ſhould enquire what are his thoughts concerning them, ſince ſeems it is not to them that he refers the accompliſhments of the ends of is *Declaration*. I believe there are ſome that ſit now in *Saint Stephen's Chappel*, that have thought no *King of England*, no *Hereditary King of England*, ought to have a Negative Voice, and I wonder that no Perſon of hat perſwaſion diſputes the Title that their *Elective King* has to it; but inſtead of this (now theſe men are in Places) they can as well as other throw out the Judges Bill as ſoon as the *Prince of Orange* lets them know his Will nd Pleaſure. They let him carry Abſolute Monarchy to a higher pitch then hat in which the imagination of *Xenophon* placed his *Cyrus*; for *Cyrus* had bout him many great men whom he conſulted, who were called his Eyes nd Ears, and who were in a ſort the Repreſentatives of his Subjects, but ur *preſent Houſe of Commons* are content that our *All-ſufficient Monarch* ſhould lo every thing by the advice only of that Stranger, that *Gaveſton*, his *Monſieur Bentinck*, who has the reputation of too good a Courtier, to expoſtulate is Maſters Will.

* *The Triannial Bill.* *The Bill of Mines.*

Will you give me leave, Dr. to repeat another Paragraph of the *Prince f Orange's Declaration.*

" *But to Crown all, there are Great and Violent Preſumptions, inducing us to believe, that thoſe evil Counſellours, in order to the carrying on of their ill deſigns, and the gaining to themſelves the more time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging their Complices, and for the diſcouraging of all good Subjects, have publiſhed that the Queen hath brought forth a Son, tho' there have appeared both during the Queen's* PRETENDED *Bigneſs, and in the manner in which the Birth was managed, ſo many juſt and viſible grounds of ſuſpition, that not only* WE OUR SELVES, *but all the good Subjects of theſe Kingdoms, do vehemently ſuſpect, that the pretended Prince of* Wales *was not born by the Queen. And it is notoriouſly known to all the World, that many both doubted of the Queen's bigneſs, and of the Birth of the Child, and yet there was not any one thing done to ſatisfie them, or to put an end to their doubts.*

Doctor Welwood, you muſt forgive me, if I think, that it has been at leaſt a great overſight in our Legiſlators, that they have not charged this *Crowning Male-adminiſtration* home upon King *James*. This was a Male-adminiſtration that was not only to confirm at preſent, but to Crown and perpetuate all the Male-adminiſtrations of King *James*'s Reign. The proof of it would have effectually ſilenced almoſt all mankind in the behalf of that King. It is ſuch an unnatural Male-adminiſtration, that I ſhould have thought him

worſe

worſe then an *Infidel*, that had ſo deſtroyed the Proviſions our Law h made for his Family, for his Daughters. I would not only have allowe him *infame*, but a *Monſter*, if this had been proved upon him. The not pr ving this upon King *James*, has laid a Foundation for *Lancaſtrian* ons, and for eternal *Standing* Armies, which muſt remain for a Guard our *Elective* Crown. Had the *Prince of Orange* intended to have requit that *moſt particular Affection* and eſteem which he ſays *we had* formerly *re ſted to him and his dearſt Conſort the Princeſs*, he ſhould not have been willi we ſhould have been left in the dark in this matter. Had the Parliament too any care for our future Security, they would have cleared this point: Th *Prince of Orange* was very particularly concerned to clear it, ſince it was th moſt Juſtifiable part of his Errand hither; the *Parliament* can never have *better* opportunity to be ſatisfied of the truth of this matter, ſince now they and the Witneſſes cannot be ſuppoſed to be *conſtrained* by an Exiled Prince They have been *challenged*, they have been provoked to ſearch to the ver *bottom* of that Myſtry of Iniquity. I will not uſe ſo rough Language, bu I humbly recommend that inquiry to them this Seſſions.

Certainly it was an Errour in our Legiſlators, that no Member of took any Oaths at the meeting of the Convention, and that they laid aſid the uſe of the Teſt, at a Juncture, when the whole Nation was allarum'd a the exerciſe of the diſpenſing Power. I have heard a Jolly *Papiſt* ſay, tha if the Prieſts can diſpenſe with him for eating a Shoulder of Mutton upo a *Fryday*, he would even diſpenſe with himſelf for that ſmall matter, le him be thought as Hetrodox by the reſt of the *Catholicks* as they pleaſed. Upon my Faith a man would think if the Teſt and the Oaths can be diſpenſed withal by one of our three Eſtates (as ſome phraſe it) they may be a well diſpenſed withal by either of the other. I don't ſay this as being fond either of Oaths or of the Teſt. I have always thought, and have lately ſeen, that Oaths are no great Security to Governments, and I never had, nor will have any hand in Teſt-making, tho' I can take twenty againſt *Popery*. All that I mean by this, is that methinks the Conventioners, our Senate, ſhould not have fallen into that Diſpenſing Power the Nation had ſo lately cryed out upon with open Mouth.

The Convention's chooſing a Speaker upon a *Corporation* bottom, and a diſputed Election poſſibly cannot in ſtrictneſs of language be called a Legiſlative Errour, but yet it was ſuch an one as made the Convention it ſelf unfit to be termed any part of our Legiſlative Authority, and invalidated; if there had been no other exceptions againſt them, all the acts of that Convention, I am ſure, made them at leaſt *diſputable*.

I think we may reckon amongſt Parliamentary Errours, that our Convention drew no better *a Bill of Rights*, did not qualifie, *explain* and *limit* th Diſpenſing Power that the threats that were uſed to *Buſcowen*, *Hampden*

Powel

Powel, &c. and their being promiſed good Preferments, ſhould be able to ſtifle all proviſions againſt Arbitrary Power, and leave our Conſtitution as doubtful and precarious as the Sycophants of both Robes have pretended it to be in the worſt of times.

Whatever theſe two laſt particulars mentioned will be reckoned now, I believe Poſterity will allow them to be Legiſlative Errours, amongſt which alſo will be reckoned their Scandalous throwing out of the *Judges Bill*, and the oppoſition that many of the *Houſe of Commons* have made to a Bill for *Regulating Tryals* in *Caſes of High Treaſon*, and I averr that neither the future will, nor can the preſent Age aſſign any other reaſonable cauſe for the treatment thoſe Bills have met with, but the *multitude* of Officers and Pentioners that *corrupt* all the debates of our Senate Houſe.

I don't intend to run through every Errour committed by our Legiſlators. I will omit the admiſſion of Out Laws, ſuch as *Major Wildman*, *Manley*, &c. into the Convention to make Laws for us, before they had reverſed their own own Out-Lawries. I will not mention that the Houſes ſuffered themſelves to be threatned by the Mobb, ſometimes by Members within, and ſometimes by People without doors, and have given for excuſe of what they have done thoſe threats, the violence of the times, &c. and yet have looked and acted, and expect to be conſidered as a free Parliament. I will omit the non-prohibition the laſt Seſſions of the exportation of our Money in Specie. Theſe and many other Parliamentary errours I will omit, that I may as curſorily look into the Executive Male-adminiſtrations.

Some of theſe which I have called, and which became at length *Legiſlative* Errours were originally, and at their firſt ſetting out, executive *male-adminiſtrations*; and ſince I have ſpoke to them under the one, I ſhall not repeat them under the other Head of my diviſion. I will talk no more of *Impriſoning without Oath*, nor executing by *martial Law* before it was in Being. I will not repeat the *Articles of Lymerick*. But did not the *Prince of Orange* make his firſt Steps in the exerciſe of his Government in both Kingdoms upon the Diſpenſing Power? Did he not before he was King, ſend Letters to the City of *London*, to chooſe *unqualified Perſons* into Places of Truſt? Did he not alſo, and that before he was King, ſend a Proclamation into *Scotland* that authorized and impowered Magiſtrates to officiate in Corporation who were not elected according to their Charter? Has not every Term exceſſive Bail been required, *three thouſand pounds* for men that have not been worth *three hundred Shillings*? Exceſſive Fines impoſed (beſides ſetting in the Pillory) a hundred Marks upon a Boy that was not worth ſo many Pence, and now five hundred Marks apiece (beſides ſetting them three times in the Pillory) upon two that diſperſed this *Declaration*, tho' one of them is not worth ſo many Groats? Where is that *Salvo continemento* that we uſed to talk of? Have not Illegal and cruel Puniſhments been

Inflicted? one of the *Female* Sex ſet in the *Pillory* and Fined ſeverely for a fooliſh *Song*? Have not the Armies taken and forced free quarter in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*? Have they not been countenanced in doing it by thoſe that ſit at the Helm? Are our Elections of Parliament men according to our old Conſtitution? Were not my Lord *Nottingham*, and the *booted Apoſtle* ſent down to ſolicite againſt Colonel *Mildmay*'s Election in *Eſſex*? Have there not been many bare-faced Sollicitations, *Threats* and *Promiſes* ſent to Countries, Corporations, and particular Electors? Were there not great Sums of Money expended by the Court to hinder the Elections of *Wildman* and others, who had been great *authors* of the Change, meerly becauſe it was plain they made this Change with a deſign to ſecure their Country from the abuſe of future Miniſters? Have not Governours been impoſed upon the Plantations abroad upon the *quo Warranto* Foot, and contrary to the opinion of the Privy Council, and meerly by the Arbitrary Command of King *William*? Are not ſuch Judges out of favour, and their Sallaries ill paid who will not do all Jobbs for the Court? I appeal to my *Lord Chief Baron Atkins*, and others of the Judges, whether or no I am a Slanderer. Has not an Order been ſent down to the Cuſtom-Houſe at *Dover*, *diſpenſing* with the Act of Parliament which prohibits French Wines? Was not that Act which prohibits the bringing in of Silk for Sir *Henry Limerick*' *Furnace*'s ſake diſpenſed with the other day by a formal Act of Council? In the Name of God, is not all the world ſatisfied, that my Lord *Bellamount* was Cloſeted during the laſt Seſſions, and that many others were ſo before the Parliament met, as well in *Flanders*, as in *England*? Was not the *witty Jack How* turned off becauſe he would not hold his tongue when the Intereſt of the Nation called upon him to ſpeak in the Houſe? And when he had the misfortune to beat a Foot-man juſt before the laſt Seſſions within the verge of the Court, did not the Court Animals tell about in triumph their Maſters Sentiments; and how many good Speeches were ſpoiled by having *Jack How* upon that hank? When King *William* returned from that *Skirmiſh* of the *Boyne* (which is the only time he ever faught ſucceſsfully) did not he *threaten* the *whole Parliament* in a Speech? But I muſt confeſs a man that Pays them *ſo well* may take the Liberty to uſe thoſe Gentlemen a little *Scurvily*; but the Figure they ſhould make and the treatment they then had, would have taught *Barbarians* how little they ought for the time to come to have wiſhed *ſucceſs* to King *William*'s Arms. All that I have reckoned up, except this laſt inſtance, are the meaſures of Adverſity; but who can gueſs what would be the *Maxims* of his Government, if he could do thoſe mighty things that he ſometimes promiſes in his Speeches, and weak Men, and ſilly *Women*, expect at his hands? But I muſt return to what he does, as things are with him at preſent; Was not Mr. *Aſhton* murdered by *preſumptive Treaſon*, and *Anderton* againſt the *plain ſence* of many Statutes,

and

and without the leaſt *ſhadow* or proof, and in deſpite of the *conviction* and *repentance* of ſeveral of his Jury; particularly the Foreman? have not many of the Judges *lectured* the Juries in their Circuits? But why ſhould I go on to enumerate all the effects of the *Prince of Orange*'s moſt *Deſpotick* Rule? Theſe Inſtances are enough to demonſtrate the Imprudence, I had like to have ſaid Impudence, of theſe Pamphleteers, and are enough to verifie *Osborne*'s Aphoriſm which I have put upon the Title page; and to convince us that what he ſays is the true reaſon why we at preſent bear ſuch infractions of our Antient Conſtitution. The Aphoriſm is ſo pat here, that it will ſcarce be loſt time to read it over again, *People endure Oppreſſion with more patience from an Uſurper, then one aſcending through a long Succeſſion, as eſteeming it* MORE NATURAL, *and no leſs then looked for, or as acknowledging to have deſerved it.* FOR NOT SEEING WHEN THEY WERE WELL.

I will not be ſo particular as to ſhew how eſpecially of all their Scriblers, it little becomes Doctor *Welwood* to exaggarate matters againſt *King James*, ſince his diſcourſes about a Dictatorial Power, *&c.* brought him for his Arbitrary Doctrines under the cenſure of the *Houſe of Commons*. A Houſe of Commons wherein ſome Members have been ſo notoriouſly, and of a ſudden, ſo debauched, that when ſome of them have ſtood up to ſpeak, thoſe that ſate next, have (as I am told) inſtead of crying hear, called out *hyre him.* If I may believe a Perſon that I think of credit, this is true, but I am cautious of laying down any thing for matter of Fact that is not minutely true, that I will not vouch for this Report, tho' it is well handed to me. However I muſt confeſs ſince *Penſions* have been ſo much talked of, and ſo much known, I think the promotion of no Teſt will ever ſo honourably carry down the names of the Authors of it to our Childrens Children, as the late *ſelf denying Ordinance*, and yet that ought to have been carryed a little farther; for it were to be wiſhed that every Member ſhould make Oath he received no *Penſion*, either directly, or indirectly, from King *William*, and then a reaſonable man might know what to ſay to them; and how much ſoever they would oppoſe King *James*, yet they would certainly take ſome care of their miſerable Native Land.

I am coming, *Doctor*, to my third Head, which is in Anſwer to a Maxim you lay down and build very much upon, *page* the 4*th*. Your Maxim is, *Never to truſt the Promiſes of one that has broke with us before*, eſpecially if thoſe former were *backed with the Religious* Sanction of an Oath. *Doctor*, don't you tell a Rat? In good earneſt, as ill as the Convention provided for our ſecurity, I ſuppoſe what I have mentioned may be either found in our new *Bill of Rights*, or plainly, and without ſtraining a point be deduced from it, and tell me frankly was it not deſigned that the Coronation Oath ſhould oblige King *William* to obſerve that *paultry Bill of Rights*, and alſo all our Laws? I have obſerved, Doctor, you have an ill memory, and a worſe obſervation,

and

and for that reaſon I muſt remind you that *the Male-adminiſtrations* in th Reign of King *James* are by your Libel, made breaches of his Co onatio Oath. I fancy upon reading it, that you reckon that notion the very *hing* of our Conſtitution, becauſe elſe, ſure you can't but know that your whol Treatiſe is impertinent, what *hole* then have you for King *William* to cree out at? How ſhall he go Scot-free But to proceed *gradatim*, did not th *Prince of Orange* break his Oath to his own Country-men, by taking up him the *Statholderſhip*, and this too when he was of years to be obliged b an Oath; for when they firſt made him Captain Gene al. he took an Oat never to take the Power of the *Statholder* upon him? Well but I will no ramble into the *United Provinces*, I will let him, the People of *Amſterda* and *Tergou* alone. But did not the *Prince of Orange break* his Word, hi *Declaration* with us, when by advancing his Troops he mad it impracti cable, for *King James*, when a Treaty was on Foot betwixt him and th King, to ſummon ſuch a Parliament as the *Prince of Orange* ſaid he woul refer every thing to, and for which the King had iſſued out ſeveral Writs Nay was the threatening, not to ſay inſolent, inhumane, and unna ur M ſſage, he ſent to the King, to command his removal from *Whitehall* a unſeaſon ble a time of the Night, and to go by conveyance, that co ſid r ing the coldneſs of the Weather, muſt be ſo dangerous to his Health agr e able to what he promiſed to thoſe of the Gentry and Nobility, who invi ted him over without deſign of carrying things ſo far, without de ſign to carry them to any extremity, either againſt the King's Perſon, o the Juſt Rights and neceſſary Prerogatives of his Crown? Nay farther has King *William* ſince he was Crowned, kept his Oath with any of th Kingdoms? I think it is plain he has not. I dare appeal to his Friends o both the Roſes, *The Roſe Tavern at Temple-Barr*, and in *Covent-Garden*. dare appeal to his Advocates at *Richard's Coffee-Houſe*, and to his activ Friend *Paſchall*, who delivered his *Declaration* at the Door of the Houſe o Commons: Nay I dare appeal to any man livi g, that has Sence and Memo ry, whether he has always kept his Word; I am ſure *England*, *Scotland*, a *Ireland* complain of the breach of it. I know no body indeed that he h kept it with but the *Iriſh Papiſts*; He has broke it with both Parties in *Sco land*. I will give an account how he has broke it with the *Epiſcopal* part there, when I come to ſhew in what an admirable, in how much a more te led, condition Secretary *Johnſon* has left that Kingdom, but at preſent I wi obſerve how he has kept it with the Parliament of *Scotland*, as I have hereto fore, how he has kept it with the People of *England*. It is ſufficient known that thoſe who delivered him the Crown of *Scotland*, took a moſt pa ticular care to make the *Redreſs* of *Grievances*, and the *aſſertion of their o Rights*, *the conditions of taking it*. And the Conditions upon which only th gave that Crown. I muſt allow for the honour of that Nation, and the mi

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gation of what they did, that had they had a Right to do it, they acted like wise and serious men; they provided Substantial Securities by their claim of Rights, and they ordered those who presented their Crown, to secure their Liberties, by reading first their Claim of Rights, then their Grievances (both which went to the bottom of things) and then to insist upon the exacting of a Promise from him to govern according to the one, and to Redress the other, before they administred the Oath unto him, by which they designed, and evidently implyed his being sworn to the performance, which Instructions were punctually observed by those that delivered that Crown; but within a very short time after that Crown was given, tho' it was upon this promise, yet notwithstanding the greatest part of that Parliament which placed the Crown upon his Head, humbly petitioned the present King (for which priviledge of Petitioning they had provided by their Claim of Rights as well as the *Prince of Orange* had in his own *Declaration* declared the fighting and rejecting Petitions delivered by Subjects, with respect and submission to be a high strain of Absolute Power) I say altho' that Parliament humbly Addressed to the present King for his Assent to some Votes which they had passed for Establishing their Liberties, and which were agreeable to their Antient Laws and Priviledges, and pursuant to their Claim of Rights, they were scornfully and disdainfully refused and rejected.

Will you give me leave to mention some of the Laws of *Scotland*, such as were set down in the *Prince of Orange's Declaration* to that Kingdom?

According to the *Scotch Declaration*, the appointing of Judges in an unusual manner, and giving them Commissions, which were not to continue during Life, or good behaviour, was highly Illegal; yet King *William* after he got the Crown, found he was mistaken in that Paragraph, and nominated the whole Bench without subjecting them to a Tryal, and the approbation of Parliament according as Law and Custom required, did not think fit to continue their Commissions during Life or good behaviour, and appointed them a Lord President, tho' by expreis and antient Statutes he was to be Elected by the Bench.

By the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration, the Imposing *of Bonds without Act of Parliament*, and the permiting of free quarters to the Souldiers, are declared to be *high and intollerable Stretches* of Government (as indeed they are by the municipal Laws of that Kingdom) but yet under this Government with *greater Confidence, and less Compassion* then ever, Bonds have been in *Scotland* imposed by authority of Parliament, as may appear from their publick Proclamations, and many *thousands* of Souldiers have been maintained upon *free quarter* for many Months together, countenanced and abetted in it by the *Government*, and the Funds for the reimbursing the Country, which were appointed by Parliament, have been *otherwise* diverted.

The Commissionating the Officers of the Army to sit as Judges upon the Lives and Estates of the Subjects, and the trying People to death without *a Legal Tryal, Jury* and *Record* were complained of in the *Declaration*, were thought good reasons for *Forefaulting* of King *James*, and were provided against upon this last settlement of the Crown: and yet both the *caution* given against them by the sentence of Forefaulture in the Person of King *James*, and the *future provision* made by the Estates prove too weak to restrain this Government from practising the same things; for Colonel *Hill* and Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* were ordered and empowered *to put Glencoe and all the Males of his Clan under seventy to death*; which was *partly* executed upon them without any *Legal Tryal, Jury*, or *Record*. Neither can their former enmity and opposition to the Government furnish any appology for so barbarous a Murder, since they had all, either actually taken the benefit of the Indemnity, then granted, and so were pardoned, or had *Protections in their Pockets*, which put them under the immediate care and safeguard of the Government.

Will you give me leave now to put you in mind of a matter that concerns both Kingdoms? The frequencies of Parliament for redressing of Grievances, the amending, strenthening, and preserving of the Laws with all freedom of Speech and Debates in them was insisted upon, and fundamentally established by the States of both Kingdoms, when they *Elected* their present Majesties to the Throne. How well this is observed and made good to both Kingdoms, is obvious enough. I believe it would puzzle *Doctor Welwood* to give any considerable Catalogue of Grievances Redressed. No, it is not for *Redressing of Grievances, amending or preserving the Laws* they are assembled, but for giving of *Money*. The craving Necessities of the State, the pressing circumstances of the Confederates and Forreign Affairs, the early Preparations of the *French King*, an honourable Peace, the good of the Protestant Religion, and Fears of *King James*; are become the cruel and *everlasting Topicks*, the common and ordinary Stale whereby the *true intent* of Parliaments is *baffled*, and the Money-business quickned and finished. The last is now so much the business of Parliaments, and the first so little, that it is an equal Wager that this Court may come at last to plead *Prescription* against Parliaments as to any other business but Money Bills.

Doctor, I am afraid you will be put hard to assign many redressed Grievances, but I can present you with an account of at least *six or seven and twenty Millions* that we have paid King *William*, a prodigious Sum for five Years (besides the Money that we have in that time lost by his management and the vast Sums he owes) Methinks our bounty should have made him keep better touch with us, have made him perform his Promises.

I begin to pitty you *Doctor*, for as I said, you must not discount for these things by laying the blame upon the advices of Ministers, thereby to ea-

the Prince; because every Branch of Law, is *a Breach of Promise* by your own Doctrine, if such a poor Animal as I can pick out the sence of what you write. Methinks you are a little abashed, we have been a long time very serious: Have you a mind to be merry, Doctor, and I will by repeating a Jest, shew you how in a very few Lines you might have given a more effectual answer to this Declaration? The Story is worth your hearing, I have been told of a Witty Wagg, of King *William*'s own party, who when he saw this *Declaration* at first, looked a little solmn, and cryed out, *Pox take it, this may do mischief, but after he had recollected himself, he said, Now I think of it, it will signifie little, for* King William *has taken the best way to make this, and all Declarations of no effect; for there is no body can name any one Paragraph of his own that he has kept to, so that the Nation I hope will never mind Declarations more.* It was a severe Jest upon the *Prince of Orange*, because the best Friends he has must own it a true one, nor can King *William* plead ignorance in excuse of what he does, since the *Prince of Orange* could so nicely and so Libellously anatomize in his own Declaration every breach of our Laws made in *King James*'s Reign, and also since the doctrines of this Revolution and *Doctor Welwood*'s Libell make the King of this Kingdom the author of all that is done it.

Good Doctor, what shall we do? Shall we ever *trust* to the Promise of one that has *broke* his Word with us *before*? Shall we trust a man that has broke Promises that were backed with the Religious Sanction of an Oath? Come Doctor, be good natured: Advise the World to be good natured, to be forgiving, and forgetting, or King *William*'s Government will be in a dangerous condition.

But let us not entertain our selves any longer with such dismal Prospects: Let us make to the last Head.

I perceive, *Doctor*, tho' not only the Hawkers have carryed Six pennyworth, forty pages, of your Works through all the City, but the Government has industriously spread them through all the Villages of the Country, with as much diligence, as the Ordinaries do the Fast-Prayers; yet you, Sir, are not satisfied that it is King *James*'s Declaration. Really, Doctor, I am sorry that a man of your Figure and Talents ventured to spend so much of your time upon an uncertainty; but that you may not too much repent of your labour, I will assure you, Doctor, that I have seen this *Declaration* Signed with King *James*'s *own Hand*, which I will *Swear* to as much as I will to any Similitude of Hands, and belief may serve in this case, tho' I think it no evidence in Criminal Causes, notwithstanding its being used as such at some Tryals since the Reversal of *Sydney*'s Attainder, in which Reversal to do them Justice, the Convention was in the Right; But to proceed, I don't desire the World should take my Word for this matter. I believe, there are many Members of the House of Commons know his hand as well as I,

and

and if they will become Security for my Perſon on this occaſion too, I will *produce* it, either to the Houſe, or to any Member of it whoſe Honour I can truſt. Upon my word, Doctor, it is in *Town* Signed with his *own hand*, if I may truſt my own Eyes, and I will aſſure you too, *Doctor*, as I ſaid, I never ſaw the King's hand to that former *Declaration*, which you are ſo very willing ſhould paſs for an authentick one. Where have you lived, Doctor, of late? You uſed to be a man of good Intelligence. I wonder you have not heard that this laſt Declaration was in the *French Gazette*, which the other *Declaration* would queſtionleſs have been too, had it been more then an *unfiniſhed undetermined* Scrole. If you will be pleaſed to enquire the *French Gazette* of *June* the 20th. 1693. I believe you need not put your ſelf to any farther trouble about the reallity of this being King *James*'s *Declaration*; but if you are ſtill in doubt, there is an Aſtrologer who is a Priſoner in the *Fleet*, and who was formerly of another Profeſſion, to whom you may apply, and if he is a Maſter in his Art, he will eaſily by caſting a Figure, find that this Declaration has *paſſed the Great Seal at St. Germaines*, as well as the *approbation* of many of his Majeſties *Friends* here.

The Gentleman who ſtudies the Stars can ſpell his own Name out of this little hint, but altho' he *fawned* upon King *James* in his Proſperity, and has been a buſie little *ſtickler* againſt him ſince his Misfortunes, and has had a mind to have a *flirt* at this Declaration, yet I pitty the hardſhips that Gentleman has brought upon himſelf, and wiſh at laſt he would mind his own proper Function, and not trouble himſelf any more with Politicks, which God and Nature never deſigned for his Province, He will know I ken, but I will not expoſe him, who is more miſerable already then I wiſh him, were it in my power to make him otherwayes.

I have ſaid all I think neceſſary to the general Heads, and now ſhall proceed to thoſe things that have not fallen under them.

In looking over *page* the 6th. I perceive Doctor, you have a wonderful good opinion of the Face of Affairs in *Scotland*, therefore if you pleaſe I will compare Notes with you.

My Correſpondents, Doctor, aſſure me that your Country-men are leſs affected then they were to the preſent Government, which they ſay appears by the general obſtinacy againſt taking the Oathes, the *Epiſcopal* Party generally, and ſome of the *Presbyterian* Miniſters themſelves refuſing; and thoſe that have taken the Oaths, even amongſt the *Presbyterian* Clergy, have taken them with ſuch a Reſervation and Explication as plainly ſhews that they have King *William* in ſuſpition, and that they don't deſire to place a Dictatorial Power in the *Prince of Orange*. I think I had beſt ſend the explanation it ſelf. *We do take the Oath of Alleigiance to King* William *and Queen* Mary, *in ſo far as they defend our Religion, and our Liberties according to the Claim of Right and their Coronation Oaths.* I ſuppoſe you have heard of Mr. *Windram*

Profeſſor

Professor in Divinity at *Glascoe*, Mr. *John Ballendine*, and Mr. *Thomas Linnin*. These men repeated these Words in the name of themselves and the *Kirk of Scotland*, and they demanded, and would not be satisfied till they had got Instroments from the Clerk of the Commission, who was empowered to administer the Oaths unto them, that upon these terms *only* they had Sworn the Oaths and Signed the Assurance. Now I have repeated their Explanation, methinks even these men have not bound themselves Hand and Foot. The *Claim of Right* & the *Coronation Oath* have been, & may again be, broken by *King William and Queen Mary*, and then the *Kirk of Scotland* is at Liberty to step out of the way of their Allegiance; and by what has been done to King *James*, such Sallies as those are brought into president. There are prodigious numbers both of Noblemen and Gentlemen, who were living Peaceably, and willing enough to live peaceably, under the protection of this Government, some of whom are Imprisoned, others Fined in a Years Revenue of their Estates, besides many that are Banished, and all this meerly for refusing to take the Oaths at all; and it is no wonder that men of Spirit and Conscience so obstinately refuse the Oaths there, since by them they are to Swear Allegiance to the *Prince of Orange* and his Princess as King and Queen *de jure*, as Rightful and Lawful King and Queen of *Scotland*; but besides these that refuse, there are others that are not so well able to grapple with Tribulation, who have taken the Oathes against their will, and with a design never to keep them, for there is nothing more certain than that according the *Scotch* Aphorism. *He that Sweart against his Will, is of his old Opinion still*; nor can this Government especially expect any great Security from Oathes, which is it self founded upon the breach of so many solemn and sacred ones. That face of Affairs which you are in love with, seems to me disfigured with greater Oppressions and more ghastly Hardships then would be necessary to support a Lawful Throne, and I am apt to think those hardships will force the injured Persons, and many of their Relations upon designs against the Government, to get rid of these particular Oppressions, which perhaps no other motive could so easily and so vigorously have put them upon. This rigid management of *Johnston* and *Ormeston* (who is Justice Clerk) has so universally disgusted that I have it from men of both parties (men considerable in the *Presbyterian* as well as the *Episcopal* Party in your Country) that those *Cameronian* Drivers have more served King *James* then their own Master. The heavy Taxes both upon the Commons and Gentry, which are so great and unusual that they neither will, nor can be paid in many places, have much inflamed *Scotland*, but they are more inflamed because at the first sitting of their Parliament they were made believe, that a bloody and execrable Plot would be made out as plain to them as the Sun at noon day, which Plot at last dwindled into a few paultry Letters, which no body evidently and legally knew the meaning of, nor to whom they were written, insomuch that *Nevill Payne*

upon whom they were fathered, when he came to his Tryal in Parliament was so like to have been acquitted, that the Court was forced to Adjourn his Tryal to save their own credit, and besides, as I am informed, there had like to have been a palpable discovery made of some indirect endeavours to forge that Plot, and to equipp Evidences for it. I hear that since the last Sessions of Parliament ended the [illegible]sions of your Representatives (who it seems mark down as well as look on) have severely lectured these Members that appeared credulous in that matter. Tho' your Parliament as well as ours can over-hastily Vote a Plot, yet I find the general sence of that Nation is against prosecuting upon intercepted Letters. Your wise Country-men and the generality of your Nation too (as do all wise men in all Countries) believe the State may be informed by Letters that they meet with by chance, but they don't think them sufficient grounds to set on Foot, such Severities as Secretary *Johnston* has alarum'd them withal. Besides many of those who are very Zealous for the present Government, think it an unheard of Barbarity, that *Nevill Payne* who has been three Years in Prison, and most part of them in close Prison, after being tortured with *Boots* and *Thummikins*, and that in a very extraordinary and Illegal way, and when he ought so long ago to have been set at Liberty, because he had endured the Torture; I say they think it barbarous that this so wronged, that this suffering, *English* man, who ought not by the Laws of *Scotland* to have been put at all to the Torture (upon the Crime alledged, without any Evidence against him, and being no Native of *Scotland*) should be now at last put in hazard of his Life, when after all the *Parade* of the Government, after all their busie preparations to destroy him, it appeared plainly that there was nothing, even so much as like sufficient Evidence against him.

I come, *Doctor*, now to give you an account of the State of the *Episcopal* Party in *Scotland*, as I promised sometime since; but give me leave to repeat here also, a Paragraph of the *Prince of Orange's Declaration* to the People of *England*, which relates to the People of *Scotland*.

And we do likewise resolve, that as soon as the Nations are brought to a State of quiet, we will take care that a Parliament shall be called in Scotland, *for restoring the Antient Constitution of that Kingdom, and for bringing the matters of Religion to such a Settlement, that the People may live easie and happy, and for putting an end to all the unjust Violences that have been in a course of so many Years committed there.*

In another place of the same *Declaration*, he makes one of the great ends of his coming over to this Island to be *the Covering and Securing of all such who will live peaceably under the Government as good Subjects from all Persecution upon the account of their Religion, even* Papists *themselves not excepted.* Perhaps I could shew he has kept his Word best with the *Papists*; but before I have ended my History of the *Scotch affairs*, I suppose no body will think he has kept his

Word with the *Epiſcopal Proteſtants* of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. There have been made ſince this Revolution, Acts of Parliament that make it impoſſible for any that approve of Epiſcopacy tho' in the loweſt manner to hold any Preferment, either in the Churches, or the Univerſities, notwithſtanding they ſhould be willing (as ſome were) to ſubmit to this Government. By the Act of the Settlement of the Church all the Clergy are obliged to declare, that they believe the *Presbyterian* Church-Government is the only Government Chriſt hath left in his Church. And inſtead of a Compromiſe which King *William* ſeemed to promiſe at the opening of the laſt Seſſions, care has been taken not only to Level, by *de jure* Oathes and Aſſurances, at the Civil Principles of the *Epiſcopal* Party, but ſuch maxims and meaſures have been ſet on Foot there, as muſt not only extirpate them out of their Churches, but out of their Country too; and all theſe things are to be laid at Secretary *Johnſton*'s and his Maſters doors; becauſe with your leave, Doctor, I muſt inform the World that King *William* Governs your Native Country with a *Dictatorial Power*, and much like a *Conquered* Province, and by taking only his Advice made Mr. *Johnſton*, before he had the publick character of Secretary, the Vice-Roy of it, who like a great Baſhaw in *Turky* has ſo little of his own property there, that it is plainly his Intereſt to comply with his Maſter's Will. But to return to the Epiſcopal Clergy of *Scotland*. They muſt ſubſcribe the Confeſſion of Faith, made at *Weſtminſter*, and the ſhorter and larger Catechiſm's made at the ſame place. They muſt promiſe to obſerve an Uniformity to the preſent *Presbyterians* in Worſhip and Diſcipline, and beſides this they are to ſubmit to Tryers, who muſt be ſatisfied of their Gifts, and I ſuppoſe too (according to the uſual form of Tryers) they muſt be ſatisfied they have not too good a Benefice for an *Epiſcopal* Clergy-man. But I beg pardon for this Note of my own, and will go on to tell you that all that have Benefices, not ſubmiting to theſe Conditions, are to be deprived, and that all others who have none are to be baniſhed if they exerciſe, tho' in private Houſes, their Miniſtry; ſo that now there are no remains of *Toleration* in *Scotland*. The *Idolatrous* Church of *England* is ſo little admitted there, that all remains of an *Epiſcopal* Party will be rooted out, if *Johnſton*'s Miniſtry, and this Government can ſtand.

Let us proceed to another Head. Becauſe you are a Stranger, give me leave to inform you, Doctor, that *ſo much*, does not ſignifie *only* in our Language, and then give me leave to conſider part of the eighth and ninth Pages.

Good Doctor, did not the *Prince of Orange* charge the King with a *ſuppoſitious Prince of Wales*, and his partizans with a *French League*, the Murther of his *Brother*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*? Did theſe things contribute towards the King's misfortunes? Are they true? Or were they falſe? I believe you muſt allow, that nothing contributed ſo much to the King's Misfortunes, and

our Miseries, as these malitious Calumnies. Were they his Friends, or his Enemies that set them about? I will not name *Saint James's Grid-Irons*, nor the *Irish Massacree*, and all the other Stories, wherewith the Mobb were carried headlong to Perdition. Besides this, a man without aggravation might say, that when the *Prince of Orange* had Bribed some to put the King upon ill measures, he Bribed others even to give a worse turn to them abroad, than they (as bad as they were) deserved, and to fix Intentions to them, which the King never so much as dreamt of. You can't but be sensible an ill thing may be aggravated by *Billingsgate flights*, because, *Doctor*, your own Talent lies that way.

Page the fourteenth, you charge *King James* with endeavouring both before and after his Accession to the Crown, to advance the exorbitant greatness of *France*, and you say that this is a truth so generally known in *Europe*, that even the *Popish Princes* lay it at his door with the heaviest Execrations. These are heavy Charges, but you are pleased to let the proving of them alone, and I protest, *Doctor*, you are the only man in the world, upon whose bare Word I would have believed things of this importance. However from these discoveries of yours, you infer, that the present War is for the defence of our Country, our Religion, and our Liberties. The Protestant Religion and English Liberty are so dear to me, that I must consider them first. I did never hear that our Religion and our Country were attacked by *France*. I thought we declared War first against *France*. Well! but you will tell us, that our Religion and Liberty are concerned in the defence of *Flanders*, as well as in that of our own Country, because, if *Popish Flanders* is lost, it is impossible for either our Religion, or Liberty to subsist. I answer, First, that *Flanders* was not attacked, until after this Revolution, and so the danger of *Flanders* did not draw us into this War. And then Secondly, with submission if we had kept out of this War, and from the expence of a Land Army in *Flanders*, our Trade would have flourished, and our Navy, with the fifth part of that Expence we have been at, might have been so increased as would have secured our Religion and Liberty from all the Power of *France*, and of the whole World too. But farther, supposing I should grant that we must be yet more watchful over *Flanders*, are we nevertheless bound to ruin our selves for its defence? Is not this to submit at present to a mischief, the avoiding of which for the future is the only reasonable and National motive why we should take any care at all of those Provinces?

But, *Doctor*, how does it appear that King *James* has labour'd for the Grandeur of *France*? If you know any thing of a *French League*, produce it. My Lord *Sunderland's* Letter, Licens'd in 89. denys his knowledge of it, and I think his Evidence may be taken upon this Head. The Duke of *York's* labouring to obtain those Peaces of *Aixe La Chapell*, and *Nimeghen*

which were so advantagious for the Confederates, are no very good proofs of your assertion. King *James*'s threatning the King of *France* when his Army was hovering about the *Mase*, and his sending the *French King* word when he offered to fall down upon *Holland* to divert his Invasion that brought about this Revolution, that if he Invaded *Holland* he would send his *Quota* for their defence, according to the Treaty of *Nimeghen*, is a strong contradiction to what you say; and upon the whole I am so far from being of your mind, that I believe the majority of the Confederates will ascribe the present Grandeur of *France* rather to the *Prince of Orange*'s want of conduct, Government and Oeconomie in their common Affairs, than to any endeavours of King *James* either before, or since his accession to the Crown.

If a man had nothing else to do, one might since you insist upon the Security of our Religion by this War, make pretty work with that Article of the Confederacy, whereby the Prince of *Orange* engages himself to maintain the *Usurpation of the Pope* against the *Franchises of the Gallican Church*, and with the Declaration *Monsieur Schomberg* put forth in *Dauphin*, this time twelve Month. And in answer to what you say, of the King's laying his Crown at the Feet of the Pope (which you your self, *Doctor*, can't but know it a malicious and groundless Calumny) a man might expose your Master for having so often tampered with the *Court of Rome* for having had so great Friendships with many Popes, for being in a direct Confederacy with one, nay, for having as it were fought under his Banner when he came to be our Deliverer. With these things a man might divert the Reader, but I don't love to take all advantages of rallying, nor to aggravate upon all occasions; and I know Correspondencies may be held with a Pope as a secular Prince. If you will consider this short Paragraph, it may help you to an answer to many Excursions that you make.

Page the 23*d*. you are pleased to [illegible] King *James* for want of gratitude. I believe few Princes ever shewed a greater disposition to it. He lost his Crowns because he would not shift his Hands, after he had put out his Liberty of Conscience, neither could he be perswaded to suspect those who had formerly shewed themselves his Friends, tho' in many of them appeared a peevish opposition to Liberty of Conscience it self. I never pretended to like the Methods that were then taken to introduce Liberty of Conscience, but the thing it self was both wise and Christian, and many of those with whom the King was displeased, did not only oppose the manner, but the Liberty, and yet King *James* continued them in places of the greatest Trust, and was at last Sacrificed by his too great Confidence in their Fidelity. Besides this, how came you to reproach King *James* with ingratitude, since your Master has so signalized himself for it towards those that have served him in *Holland*, *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*? Why should I name the *Alwins*,

&c. in the *United Provinces*? *Halifax*, *Shrewsbury*, *Delamere*, *Wildman*, *Manley*, &c here? One of those very men that brought him the Crown of *Scotland*? The Officers of *London-derry* and *Iniskilling*, &c? I say why should I name these, when the whole Whigg-Party every day, in every Coffee-House, charge him with an Ignorance of his own Interest; because he scarse rewards any body, but those that have opposed him? He seems to have a Green-sickness Palate in that matter, and to love Ingratitude, as young Women do Dirt and Charcoal, because it is destructive to the Constitution of his Government. *King William* has interwoven with his Politicks all the Faults that we complained of in the time of King *James*, without immixing that Oeconomie, that good Husbandry, that application which must be allowed, even by his worst Enemies to be King *James*'s Talents, 'tis odd, not to say Ridiculous, to see the *Prince of Orange* every where in the Commissions of the Peace, and the Militia and almost all the Places of Trust with men whose Principles are directly opposite to his own Title, and who opposed his Election to the Crown: This is as has been formerly said by a *Jacobite Pamphleteer*, a Sin against the Holy Ghost of this Revolution, and I am sure is a monstrous and undeniable Instance of the Prince of *Orange*'s Ingratitude to those that put the Crown on his Head.

There remains two or three things still, to which I suppose you will expect an Answer. Page the seventeenth you repeat the Words of a Speech the King made to the Parliament, 1685. where he told them, *that he placed himself with the hopes, that by Gods blessing & their assistance, he might carry the Reputation of this Nation higher in the World, than ever it had been in the time of any of his Ancestors.* These Words of this Speech you think are Synonymous with this clause. *He has set it before his Eyes as his noblest aim to do yet more for the Constitution than the most renowned of his Ancestors.* Had you taken notice of the word *Constitution*, and not overlooked the next clause of his *Declaration*, which is, *and as our chiefest Interest to leave no umbrage in relation to Religion, Liberty, and Property.* I say if you had observed the word *Constitution*, and that clause, you could not fallen into such a mistake. It is plain the King designed to make himself glorious, and to secure his own Interest by giving us good Laws, and did not in his Declaration talk of Campaigning; and let me assure you, the less a King of *England* loves Wars abroad, the better it is for his People at home.

But if it will not take up too much of your time, I will give you my Sense of that very Expression in the King's Speech, 1685. and be not surprised, *Doctor*, if I declare that I firmly believe that all the King said might have been brought to pass, if the People of *England*, and particularly the *Stout Whiggs*, had done their part. Will you not grant that the Wealth, the Influence of People, the greatness of their Trade, the number and strength of their Shipping, together with the plentiful Magazines of Naval and

tial Stores, raise the highest Reputation to Islanders? Did not our Conquests upon the Continent always cost us very dear in Blood and Treasure? And did they not end in loss and disgrace? Whilst *Edward* the Third and *Henry* the Fifth were making a noise with their Victories, poor *England* was lamenting that vast consumption of its People and Coyn, which had very near destroyed this Nation, whereas the Reputation which is acquired by an increase of Trade, and Riches is much more durable, much more extensive, and will, upon an Island, resist with greater vigour the rude and cross shocks of Fortune. I shall make this more evident by comparing the Reigns of three of our own Princes, *Edward* the Third and *Henry* the Fifth gained many glorious Victories, and conquered several Provinces in *France*, by which they rendred their Names dreadful to *France* (tho' their Influences were scarse felt or feared any where else) but what Fruit did *England*, nay even themselves, reap from all this? The disgraces of the latter part of *Edward*'s Reign almost withered all his former Laurels, and *England* was so drained of Money, that its Treasure, with that of the Conquered Provinces, was not sufficient to pay that Army upon its return, which under the conduct of the *Black Prince*, had restored *Don Pedro* to his Kingdom of *Castile*, neither can we discover any better fruits of the Conquest of *Henry* the Fifth, his Reign was short, and upon ballancing of Accounts, nothing fell to our share, but our loss of our bravest Officers and Souldiers, and an immence mass of Money thrown away in that unfortunate War. Upon the other hand Queen *Elizabeth* by applying her Councils and Thoughts to the Shipping and Trade of this Nation, did so encrease the Wealth and Strength of it, as enabled her to support the whole Protestant Interest, to secure *Scotland* from the *French* Clutches, to recover *France* out of the very Jaws of the *Spaniard*, to defend and establish the Common-wealth of *Holland* against all the Power of *Spain*, and at last to break the strength of, and to humble that great Monarch, to whose aspiring Thoughts all *Europe* seemed too mean a Quarry, and whose Ambition could not be satisfied with less then the Empire of the Universe. By these methods she out-did all the bravest Actions of our former Kings, and extended the dread and reputation of the *English* Name, hither-to confined to our bordering States, to the utmost corners of the Earth, and hath withal thereby Established such a solid Foundation for our future greatness, as hath already withstood, without any sensible decay, a greater effusion of Blood and Treasure in our last Civil Wars, then was spent in *France* in the Reigns of *Edward* the third, and *Henry* the fifth, which Reigns nevertheless had almost anihilated this Nation. From all this it doth evidently appear that whensoever a King of *England* applys his whole thoughts to the encrease of the Shipping and Trade of this Nation, he must raise our Reputation, Strength, and influences proportionable to the advances he makes in them. That this was and must be King *James*'s design, and what he meant in that

Speech

Speech quoted by you, is pretty plain to every body, that has any knowledge of King *James* his Genius, who is truly a *Trading and Navall King*, and it is as plain to any man that reads Mr *Pepy*'s *Memoires*, which are submitted to the ſcrutiny of the Books, and challenge the men that are now in the Navy, and Admiralty Offices as to the truth of every thing he aſſerts, that King *James* proceeded ſuitably to it. No Prince was ever more careful to encreaſe and encourage Trade, which he underſtands better than any Prince in *Europe*, None more diligent to appoint Convoys for the ſecurity of it, and none ever took juſter meaſures in order to thoſe ends. None ever was more indefatigable in the encreaſing of the Navy Royal. None ever more induſtrious in filling the Magazines with Naval and Military Stores. But above all by his project of Liberty of Conſcience, our Trade, Wealth, and People, and conſequently our Shipping would have been encreaſed to the envy and terrour of all our Neighbours. It was an early diſcovery of thoſe deſigns and meaſures of his, which would have proved ſo fatal to their Common-Wealth, that induced the *Dutch* to forward the Prince's undertaking; and did I think the Prince of *Orange* had any regard to any thing beſides his own unmeaning Will, could I believe he was touched with any love of his Native Soil, I ſhould believe that love, upon theſe Conſiderations, made him alſo the rather attempt the Revolution he effected. I can more eaſily believe he did it upon that account, then upon any of thoſe Motives which were plauſibly expreſſed in ſome parts of his *Declaration*. Upon the whole, thoſe Hopes of King *James* might have been accompliſhed, if they had not been fruſtrated by the reſtineſs of ſome, the giddineſs of others, and the artful Treachery of too many, with whom he truſted his moſt inward thoughts. They might have been accompliſhed, if the implacable averſion of ſome men to his Perſon, of others to the Family of the *Stuarts*, joyned with the Flatteries firſt of the pretended *Church of England* men, and then of *Fanaticks*, had not made him uncertain which way to turn, and ſo given an eaſier oppertunity to his corrupted Miniſters to betray him into ſuch Councils as brought forth this Revolution. Which Revolution has fatally diverted the application of our Councils, Strength and Treaſure into a Channel which will never turn to anaccount; and into a ſort of War, wherein our Trade and Shipping are neglected, whereby certain and inevitable Ruin is overtaking us, unleſs we ſuddainly come to an end of it. And notwithſtanding, *Doctor*, what you ſay *page* 13*th.* time will inform all true Engliſh men and lovers of their Country, that they ought for the ſake of it to ſet their Hands and Hearts to the Accompliſhing the King's Reſtoration, as the only meahs to ſecure to us laſting Peace and Happineſs, our Religion, and our Liberties; nor will all the bantering Stuff wherewith you declaim, *page* 19*th.* and 20*th.* frighten us from Reſtoring him.

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I have dwelt a little too long upon this Head, but before I conclude I muſt go as far back as Page the third, wherein you challenge all the Kin 's Declarati n-makers to give but one ſingle Inſtance from Hiſtory, that ever a People who from a juſt and recent ſence of an Invaſion made by a limited Monarch upon their Laws and Fundamental Conſtitution, had thereupon withdrawn their Allegiance from him, and conferr'd it upon another, did ever afterwards willingly and tamely ſubmit to his Government again.

By this bold Challenge, *Doctor*, I find you have not read much Hiſtory, for ſuch Inſtances ſo frequently occur in the Records of all Countries, that I will undertake that if you will be at the pains to ſearch, you may find for one Inſtance where a Monarch was excluded for ever, ſix Inſtances where a limited Monarch dethroned by his People for Male-adminiſtrations, has by the ſame People either himſelf been called back, if alive, or his Children, if he was dead; neither does the laſt any thing alter the caſe; for ſince all theſe violent Hurricanes of State, occaſioned by popular Reformations, require it may be ſome time to wear off the preſent Fit, in that interval the expell'd Prince may dye; but if the People come again ſo far to themſelves a to reſtore the Children, by the ſame Revolution of their Inclinations they would unqueſtionably have done the ſame thing to the Father, if he had been alive.

But to produce ſome Inſtances, I ſhall omit many that might be given from the Emperours and Princes of *Germany*, the Antient Kings of *Macedon*, and the ſeveral Kingdoms of *Greece*, all which were limited Soveraignties. I will not mention *Ferdinand* of *Naples*, *Charles* the fourth, *Lewis* the fourth, and *Charles* the ſeventh of France; nor will I ſpeak of *Sueno* and *Chriſtopher* the ſecond of Denmark, or *Alphonſo* the third of *Caſtile*; I will not inſiſt upon *Laſcus* King of *Poland* any more then upon thoſe Revolutions that were not long ſince in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, &c. where thoſe People transferr'd their Allegiance to the Duke of *Alanſon*, and being ſo many diſtinct and limited Principalities make ſo many ſeveral Inſtances. I ſay I will not inſiſt upon any of theſe Examples, tho' they are all pretty appoſite, and are ſtill upon the Records of Time (as you phraſe it) unleſs you, *Doctor*, have lately razed them. But to come to your own Country, were not *Reuther*, *Donald Bane*, and *Atherict* Kings of *Scotland*, expelled by their People for their Irregularities? Did not their People transfer their Allegiance to others? And were not they afterwards reſtored by the ſame People, the two firſt in their own Perſons, and the laſt in his Poſterity? Will you look over what we have done in *England*? Does not *John Milton* in his Hiſtory of it tell you that *Ethelred* when he was expelled, and the Allegiance of his People transfered, was ſent to by his People, who declared they

preferred none before their own Lawful Soveraign, if he would promise to Govern better than he had done? I set down the Words of the Historian, and if you will look into him, you will find his People repossessed *Ethelred* upon promise to do so. In the same Historian you may find no less than two others of the same Name that were expelled, and recalled in Person by their People. I will conclude this Head with the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second; was not King *Charles* the First, not only deposed, but put to Death by his Subjects, and that upon the Allegation of more numerous Crimes, and some of them more hainous too, than those charged upon King *James*? Was not his Son *Charles* the Second, after his Father's Death, expelled the Kingdom, and the Allegiance of the People of *England* transferred first to many, and then to a single Person under the Name of *Protector*, tho' in effect a King? And yet was not the very same despised, calumniated, and abjured *Charles Stuart* (as they then called him) afterwards peaceably and willingly called home by the united desires of the People of *England*? Had the Father King *Charles* the First been then alive, would not he as certainly have been called home, since the revulse of the People was so strong as to Canonize him a Martyr, and to appoint upon the account of his usage a Day of Humiliation and Repentance to all after Ages? Nay, since the Injury done to him has left still such an impression, that many men who have had a Hand in this Revolution, yet remember his Blood shed with Horrour; and since, however contradictory it was to the Principles of this change, the Convention it self caused *Ludlow* to be sent away with a Proclamation at his heels; and farther, since multitudes of People in all parts of *England* attribute almost all our Misfortunes to that Vengeance wherewith God retaliates the Injustice of his Death? I say all this considered, can it be doubted that King *Charles* the First would have been by this change of the Peoples temper re-possessed of his Throne, had he had the good luck to have gone into Exile?

From all these Instances, and many more that may be met with in Story, I think we may infer that nothing is more certain, than that the love which People have to the rightful Descendant and Successor of a Family that has a long time held the Reins of Government, and which has been submitted to by them, will at last prove too hard for any Fascination with which the People may for a while be inveigled by the arts of an Usurper, and his Emissaries, together with the *Billingsgate* of such Scriblers as your self.

That the King will be Restored, I don't at all question. The Follies, the Faults, the Unsuccessfulness and Ingratitude of the Prince of *Orange* make way for his Restoration. Our Injustice, and his Right enter a strong Claim for him in the Courts of Providence, and our own Consciences; His own repentance

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the Male-administrations that were committed during his Reign, and the curities he offers against such Errours for the future corroborate his Title, d will infallibly dispose all mankind to receive him. But after all I must nfess, that how much soever I have all along been convinced that he will me home, and that the Monarchy of *England* is Hereditary, and consequently that he is our Rightful and Lawful, and only King (of all which I m absolutely convinced) I say as much as I am satisfied of all these particulars, yet I should have had less Heart to serve him, had I not been well tisfied also that Common Protestancy, the Church of *England* as it is Established by Law, and our Civil Rights would be all Safe, if impartial Liberty of Conscience (which does not imply sharing Ecclesiastical Preferments, but freedom to all sorts of People (be their perswasion what it will) to worship God according to the dictates of their own mind, without any Penalty) I say Common Protestancy will be safe if such a Liberty is settled. The Church of *England* may make her self now safe, by drawing at present proper Civil Securities within the Walls of our House of Commons, and tendering them in the first Parliament after the Restoration. The same promise of ratifying Laws now made might give us unquestionable Securities for our Civil Rights. if the present House of Commons would think it their duty to provide any Securities for the Nation. But farther if these Gentlemen don't think that their business, yet we have another paragraph in the *Declaration* that will, if it is not our own fault, effectually secure us (and I think we need not be afraid of a Revolutionary Parliament under a Popish King) In the paragraph I mean, the King promises with all speed to *call together our Representative Body, and therein to inform himself what are our united Interests and Inclination; and with their concurrence to redress all our Grievances and to give all those Securities of which we shall stand in need.* And in another place he particularly promises they shall chain up your devouring Monster, explain and limit the Dispensing Power, and most effectually secure the Church of *England*, more effectually than that *Promise* you recite page the twenty ninth could be supposed to secure it before this Dispensing Power was either circumscribed or defined, and before the *Power* of the Judges to interperet away our Laws was provided against. We have not only his Promises, the King's being Sixty, and his Son not Six, our advantages against him by reason of the King's being of a Religion, that is not popular amongst us, but also our own Tenures and tempers, and his experience that *English* men, nay that the generality of the Members of the *Church of England* will not live up to all the stretches of *Prerogative* and *Passive* Obedience, to protect us against future Irregularities. It will not be the King's fault if any umbrage for Jealousies is left, in relation either to Religion, Liberty, or *Property*. It is not. He sees it is not, his Interest to leave any, and therefore

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ever since he first heard of the Prince of *Orange*'s intended design of co
and likewise what Jealousies (whether well or ill grounded) his Peo
have had, he has been always willing to condescend to ample Securit
and in this last *Declaration* he very plainly invites us to secure our selves
the future, encourages us for the future to Word our Acts of Parliament m
cautiously. What Despotick Doctrines may be found in our English Statu
Books? And when the Duke of *Queensborough* (one of King *William*'s p
sent Privy Counsellours) was Commissioners in *Scotland*, was not that fo
of speaking *Absolute Power without reserve* introduced into their Laws?
was the King the safer for these extravagant Complements of these Par
ments? Did these Flatteries of those Houses subjugate the minds of
People of these Kingdoms? I am glad to see by the wording of the Kin
Declaration, that his Majesty is sensible, that soothing expressions give
real Power, don't establish the Interest of the Crown. I said some ti
since, that I would make no Apology for the Male-administrations of Ki
James's Reign, but yet if we would Saddle the right Horses, I think Par
ments and Pulpits come in for their share of reproof, as well even as
King's Ministers, and I am sure are more blameable by our Constitut
than the King. For was not that Parliament of *Scotland* more faulty
introducing such a luscious Expression into the Laws of their Country th
King *James*, or his Minister, for using the very Words of an Act of Pa
liament in the *Declaration* of *Indulgence* that was sent thither? As I s
in another case, Extravagant Acts of Parliament never have the validity
Laws, but yet they may mislead Kings. It is happy for Kings, when th
keep exactly to the Fundamental Constitutions of their respective Kin
doms; but sure they are pardonable, if not excusable, when Representati
Bodies tempt them into Errours, unless by some Declaration of their o
they seem to have a thorow knowledge of the Constitution. Indeed t
Prince of *Orange* seemed in his *Declaration* to understand our Constitutio
so well, that he understood even the *Chicaneries* of our *Beaumanoir*, and f
this reason, and by the doctrines of this Revolution is inexcusable; but
believe King *James* never heard our Constitution so frankly debated,
men that he might confide in, as he has since his Misfortunes. Heretofo
the men that spoke unflatteringly to, were at enmity with him, and
men are with great reluctancy, [illegible] their Interest by their avowed A
versaries, but now it has been laid before him by such as daily hazard the
selves for his Service; and you see the Fruits of such Representatives are
Royal Word to do more for our Constitution, than the most renowned
his Ancestors, which implies that he will give us better Laws even th
Edward the third, or Queen *Elizabeth*, &c. To protect the *Church of E*
land as Established by Law, and to secure its Members, all the Churches,

to recommend Liberty of Conſcience to a Parliament. To leave the Diſpenſing Power to that Parliament, to conſent to every thing neceſſary to ſecure the frequent calling and holding of Parliaments, the free Elections and fair Returns of Members, and provide for impartial Tryals and to conſent to all things that are neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh the Act of Settlement in *Ireland*. And to exchange Chimney-Money, or any other part of the Revenue of the Crown, for any other eaſier Aſſeſſment. Theſe things are Particularly mentioned, and the general Promiſes imply his willingneſs to agree to any thing, that can contribute to our Happineſs, tho' he could not in his *Declaration* enter into all the particulars of Grace and Goodneſs, that he ſhall be willing to grant, ſome of which particulars are in other mens Letters, and ſome too in Letters I have by me, tho' they are not, as I ſaid, at the beginning proper to be mentioned out of Parliament. Thoſe Particulars he promiſes are ſo beneficial, and I am ſo confident of his Majeſties exact Performance, that as much as you and I differ in Politicks, and the Rights and Titles of Kings, yet I will put the Iſſue of things upon that, and joyn with you in Prayer, *that God may give him Succeſs in the proſecution of his Right, as he ſincerely intends the Confirmation of our Liberties.* I heartily ſay this Prayer, and I wiſh no more to facilitate the Reſtoration of the King, than that all his Subjects would ſay it with as honeſt a regard, both to their Country, and the King as I do. Then no more Blood would be ſhed in this quarrel. Then theſe Nations, and his Majeſties Family would return to their duty. Then the Prince of *Orange* muſt be ſoon content to return to his proper Station, to his *Statholderſhip* in the *United Provinces*. And then we ſhould be delivered from thoſe Tyrannical Oppreſſions and Burthens, with which we have been oppreſſed, and are like to be deſtroyed.

I had once thoughts of cloſing here, but I can't forbear making one obſervation upon the Words of the *Declaration* cited at the end of my laſt Paragraph, which obſervation is this. The King with a Royal *decorum* avoids writing Libels (tho' by what, *Doctor*, you have provoked me to ſay of the Male-adminiſtrations of the Prince of *Orange* you may ſee he did not want matter) The King thinks it enough to tell his People, what he will do for them, and not becoming his character to tell the world what the Prince of *Orange* has done either againſt him, or them. He will no more imitate the Prince of *Orange* in ſending over Invectives, than the *French* King will the *Dutch*, in being ſo mercinary as to expect repayment for what he has, or ſhall do for the King. The King declares he will forgive, and be reconciled to all his Subjects that don't after his Landing oppoſe him (tho' they venture neither Life nor Limb for him) and which is remarkable, there is no expreſſion in this whole *Declaration* which ſhews the leaſt unwillingneſs to be reconciled even to his own

Family, notwithſtanding the ill treatment and unjuſt uſuage he has met with from them to whom he had been ſo indulgent. I pray God that the whole Family may be yet reconciled if it be his bleſſed Will and Pleaſure.

It is time to end; for I have anſwered all that is material in your Libel, and I have tyred my ſelf, and, I believe, my Reader with poring upon it, tho' I have avoided in many places ridiculing your tedious repetitions, fantaſtick diſcoveries, *&c.* as likewiſe giving an exact and full detayle of the Miniſters, and managements of the preſent Government. When I firſt ſcratched down my rough draught, I deſigned to have uſed you a little familiarly, and therefore collected ſome materials for railery, to which you have very much expoſed your ſelf, but upon ſecond thoughts I concluded the Times too tedious even for *Tragicomedy*, and too buſie for a long Pamphlet. If you don't ſome where or other meet with a full Anſwer to any thing you value your ſelf for, it is becauſe I did not think it of ſo much weight as you do. I have not urged the third part of what I could ſay againſt what you have written; but if any body will with care look over what I have ſaid, I preſume, no farther Antidote will be wanting to preſerve them from the infection of your Libel. Your good breeding, *Doctor*, has not been very remarkable, your Inferences are very weak, and your Ignorance very notorious. To paſs by forty other inſtances of either the greateſt diſingenuity, and moſt impudent falſification, or elſe the moſt apparent Ignorance, that ever appeared in Print; can any thing manifeſt a more notorious want of knowledge in Hiſtory then what you ſay *page* 25*th.* where you peremptorily *affirm that King* James *made more ſteps in four Years time towards the reconciling this Nation to the Church of* Rome, *then was made in* France *it ſelf from the death of* Henry *the fourth until about three Years before the Edict of* Nants *was revoked*; for did not *Lewis* the 13th. who ſucceeded *Henry* the 4th. attack the *Proteſtants* by force of Arms, kill many thouſands of them in the Field, tear out of their hands no leſs then 300 Walled Cities and Forts? Did King *James* make any Steps like theſe? Did he attack the *Proteſtants* by Force? As a Friend, I adviſe you never to Print again, till you have read and thought more, ſince had the Preſs been free, and men had leiſure to read Sportive Pamphlets, a man might laſh'd you moſt unmercifully.

After this friendly Advice, pardon my taking leave of you without any farther Ceremony than giving you for a ſubject of your Contemplations a grave obſervation that Mr. *William Prynne* made after he had tumbled over all our Annals. His obſervation is.

Prynne's Rights & Laws of Engliſh free-men.

Uſurpers of Crowns without Right, tho' they court the People with Coronation Oaths, and fair Promiſes of good Laws, Immunity from all Taxes and Grievances, yet uſually prove the greateſt Tyrants and Oppreſſors to them of all others.

You

You see *Doctor*, I have brought you acquainted with Mr. *Osborne*, Mr. [illegible]*on*, and Mr. *Prynne*, all men that were never taxed with holding any [illegible]respondence with your grand and sworn Enemy the *Old Passive Obedi-[illegible] Principle*. I leave you to enjoy their Company, and bid you Adieu.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

Since so severe a Critick as *Doctor Welwood* will not fail reproaching me for being a Plagiary, I think it not amiss to break the Stroke of [illegible] Accusation by freely owning that where *Great Brittains just Complaint* [illegible] said things directly to my purpose, I ordered the Transcriber for [illegible] Press to set them down, and many times in the same Words, not only [illegible]cause I know not how to cloath them with better, but also becaus. I [illegible] really of too lazy a disposition to disguise the Stealth, tho' a few [illegible]rs would have done it.

This Reply had been ready against the meeting of the Parliament, if it could have been Printed, for it has been at the Press above two Months, and had it not been so near finished, the History of throwing out Mr. *Brockman*'s Bill, together with the manner of guelding it, would have made a very entertaining Paragraph amongst the Legislative Errours. Whatever parts of the Preface or Reply come too late, for the reasons of writing them they must be considered, with respect to the time in which it was hoped the whole would have been published.

FINIS.